JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

VOLUME XVIII.

1903 – 1905.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

The design of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the History Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, and Social Condition of the present and former Inhabitants of the Island, with its Geology and Mineralogy, its Climate and Meteorology, its Botany and Zoology.

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H. M. RICHARDS, ACTING GOVERNMENT PRINTER, CEYLON

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ERRATA.

Page 16, footnote, read : "The Archæological Commissioner examined both these *sannas* carefully, and held that dated Saka 1567 to be undoubtedly genuine."

Page 129, footnote, *for* "1875" *read* "1785."

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 11, 1903.

Present:

Mr. F. M. Mackwood, J.P., Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. J. Ferguson, Vice-President.

Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.

Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries,

---

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting.

2. Resolved,—That the following Members be elected :—

Resident.

J. Samaradivákara : recommended by { The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere. W. Chapman Dias.

Rev. Don William Jacob Wijesiṇha : recommended by { Rev. F. H. de Winton. A. M. Guṇasékara.

Venerable Dharmakírti Ṣrí Dharmaráma, High Priest : recommended by { W. P. Raṇasiṇha. A. M. Guṇasékara.

J. Still: recommended by { H. C. P. Bell. G. A. Joseph.

A. Anson: recommended by { H. C. P. Bell. G. A. Joseph.

Non-resident.

M. R. Ry. Pandit Savari Raya Pillai Avergal recommended by } W. F. Guṇawardhana. V. J. Tamby Pillai.

Professor C. Duroiselle recommended by { E. R. Guṇaratna. G. A. Joseph.

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 200 containing the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and C. Brito on the Paper entitled "The Tamilian Problem."

Resolved,—That the Honorary Secretaries do communicate with the author, with a view to revision of his Paper, according to the views expressed by the gentlemen to whom the Paper was referred for report.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 201 containing the opinions of Messrs. J. Harward and W. P. Raṇasiṇha on the Paper entitled "Dramatic Poetry and the Literature of the Siṇhalese."

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and printing, subject to revision as suggested.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 202 containing the opinions of Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and J. Harward on the Paper entitled "King Kírti Ṣrí's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D)."

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication in the Society's Journal.

6. Read and passed the draft Annual Report for 1902.

7. Resolved,—That Mr. J. A. Henderson be requested to audit the Society's Accounts for 1902.

8. Resolved,—That the date of the Annual General Meeting be fixed by the Honorary Secretaries in consultation with the Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, President of the Society, and that the business fixed for the Meeting be as follows :—

(1) To read the Annual Report for 1902.

(2) To elect Office-Bearers for 1903.

(3) To read the Papers entitled—

(i.) "Two Ola Grants of the Seventeenth Century," by Mr. T. B. Pohath.

(ii.) "An Account of King Kírti Ṣrí's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D.)," by Mr. P. E. Pieris M.A., C.C.S.

9. Laid on the table Circular No. 203 containing the opinion of Mr. J. Ferguson on a letter from the University of Colorado, soliciting an exchange of Publications, and forwarding Vol. I., No. 1, of their Publications.

Resolved,—That in view of the large number of Institutions already on the Society's exchange list, the Council regret that they cannot see their way to sanction the exchange.

10. Considered the nomination of Office Bearers for 1903.

Under Rule 16 Messrs. P. Coomaraswamy and E. E. Green retire by reason of least attendance, and Messrs. C. M. Fernando and P. Freudenberg by seniority.

Resolved,—That Messrs. C. M. Fernando and P. Freudenberg be re-elected, and that in place of the other two Members Dr. A. Willey, F.R.S., and A. Mendis Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár, be elected.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 9, 1903.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, F.R.C.I., Vice-President.

Mr. M. K. Bamber, M.R.A.C.
Mr. C. Batuwantudawa, Advocate.
Mr. W. E. Byles.
Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. I. Guṇawardana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. V. R. Saravanamuttu, M.D.
Mr. G. W. Suhren.

Mr. F. C. Roles, F.J.I., F.R.C.I, Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : Two ladies and fifteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting.
2. Mr. Joseph read the—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1902.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit the following Report for the year 1902 :—

Meetings and Papers.

The only General Meeting held during the year was the Annual General Meeting held on February 26, 1902, when the Introduction was read to the Paper entitled "A Descriptive Catalogue of the more

useful Trees and Flowering Plants of the Western and Sabaragamuwa Provinces of Ceylon," by Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S. Besides the above Paper a translation made from the Dutch "Resolutions and Sentences of the Council of the Town of Galle, 1640–44," and edited by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, has been printed in the Society's Journal for 1902.

The following Papers have been accepted for publication in the Journal for 1903, viz.: (1) "Two Ola Grants of the Seventeenth Century," by Mr. T. B. Pohath ; (2) "Temporal and Spiritual History of Ceylon, compiled by Rev. Fernao de Queiros, S.J., of the Province of Goa," translated from the Portuguese by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

MEMBERS.

During the past year nineteen new Members were elected, viz., The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, C.B., C.M.G. (elected as a Member of R.A.S., Great Britain and Ireland, under Rule 45), Messrs. J. R. Tosh, V. J. T. Pillai, J. S. Collett, F. J. de Mel, Dr. Tha Do Oung, Sir W. W. Mitchell, Messrs. R. A. Ramapillai, C. Batuwantudawa, Dr. A. J. Chalmers, Messrs. G. B. Leechman, D. Montagu, G. E. Weerakoon, Dr. Arthur Willey, F.R.S., Messrs. W. F. Guṇawardhana, W. Jayawickrama, P. C. MacMahon, N. Bonaparte-Wyse, and T. P. Ponnambalam Pillai.

Three Members resigned, viz., Mr. H. T. Gardiner, Dr. P. M. Muttukumaru, and Mr. H. O. Barnard.

Mr. W. H. G. Duncan has become a Non-Resident Life Member.

The Society has now on its roll 197 Members, including 24 Life Members and 10 Honorary Members.

The Council record with regret the death of the following Members of the Society, viz., Messrs. J. B. Cull, M.A.; O. Collett, J.P., F.R.M.S.; T. B. Panabokke, J.P.; and Dr. J. S. John Pulle.

Mr. Panabokke joined the Society in 1884. He contributed to the Society's Proceedings for 1882 the following Paper: "Addenda to Professor Rhys David's Translation of the Játakas 1 to 40, to supply certain omissions."

Mr. Collett joined the Society in 1893. He contributed the following Papers to the Society's Journal, viz.: (1) "Contributions to Ceylon Malacology," Vol. XV., No. 48 ; (2) "Contributions to Ceylon Malacology: Description of a New Helicoid Land Shell from the Southern Province," Vol. XV., No. 49 ; (3) "Contributions to Ceylon Malacology," Vol. XVI., No. 51.

The following resolution passed at a Meeting held on February 5, 1902, was communicated to Mrs. Collett: "Resolved, that the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society wish to record their regret at the death of Mr. Oliver Collett, a Member of the Society, who has particularly identified himself with biological research and contributed some valuable Papers to the Society."

LIBRARY.

The additions to the Library during the year, including parts of Periodicals, numbered 317. The Library is indebted for donations to the Secretary of State for India ; the Government of India ; Archæological Survey of India ; Professor A. Bastian ; the Postmaster-General ; Mr. G. A. Joseph ; the Colonial Secretary ; India Office Library ; Mr. A. W. Fernando ; Dr. Tha Do Oung ; Cape of Good Hope Geological Commission ; Oberlin College Library ; Rev. P. D. Wajiranana ; Messrs. H. C. P. Bell ; J. F. W. Gore ; Dr. A. Caroll ; and Mr. A. K. Coomáraswámy.

Valuable exchanges were received during the year from the following Institutions and Societies: The American Oriental Society; the Royal Society of Victoria; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; the Smithsonian Institute; Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; United States Department of Agriculture; Wagner Institute of Sciences, Philadelphia; Geological Survey of the United States of America; Field Columbian Museum; the State Archives; the Bureau of Education; the Societie Zoologique, Paris; Anthropologiche Gessellschaft, Koenig-graatzer-strasse, Berlin; Deutsche Morgenlandische Gessellschaft, Leipzig; Royal Society of New South Wales; California Academy of Sciences; Societe Imperiale des Naturalistes de Moscow; China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soceity; Asiatic Society of Japan; Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland; the Indian Museum; Asiatic Society of Bengal; John Hopkins University; Geological Society of London; the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada; the Royal Colonial Institute; Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia; and Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Accommodation.

The Council in 1898 directed the attention of Government to the congested state of the Library and has regularly referred to the subject in the Annual Reports from 1888. His Excellency the Governor, in acknowledging the communication stated that he "shares the regret of the Council that other more urgent claims on public moneys have prevented the provision of funds for the extension of the Museum." The Council hope that ere long the revenue of the Island will admit of provision being made for carrying out the long-contemplated extension.

Journals.

One number of the Journal has been published during the year (Vol. XVII., No. 52, 1901). It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and the Annual General Meeting, the following Paper:—

"Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by F. H. de Vos.

Archæological.

Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archæological Commissioner, has kindly supplied the following summary of Archæological research during 1902:—

The Archæological Survey continued operations in 1902 at Anurádhapura, Sígiriya, and Polonnaruwa. From January 1 Mr. J. Still was appointed to succeed Mr. C. E. Dashwood as Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner. Concurrent field work was thus again rendered practicable at two centres during much of the year.

Anurádhapura.

Ruwanvęli Area.—South of the Ruwanvęli Dágaba are still to be found a few scattered sites, marked by pillar stumps, which have not yet been excavated. These isolated ruins are dotted about the Residency grounds, the premises of Government clerks, and the open spaces adjoining the "Sacred Road."

Mahá Páli Alms Hall.—One of these detached ruins, an extensive site, roughly pillared, was exploited in the past year, and has fortunately

yielded one of the most interesting discoveries hitherto made at Anurádhapura. As excavation spread the plan of an exceedingly spacious quadrangle, with central courtyard, was gradually disclosed. This four-square ruin measures 135 ft. more or less, each side. All round ran a range of rooms, or a corridor, once roofed in, and 30 ft. in width. The hypethral courtyard, some 75 feet square enclosed within the building, is stone-flagged and at a lower level than the quadrangular fringe of rooms. In the west corridor was unearthed a large "stone canoe," perfectly preserved, 44 ft. 6 in. long by 3 ft. 6 in. in breadth, making the fourth so far found at Anurádhapura.

The ruins to the east of Abhayagiriya Dágaba, excavated in 1893, contain a building much the same in plan, situated in a central group of monasteries with a similar *kẹnda oruwa*, or "kanji boat" (as these strange "stone canoes" are popularly termed), but greatly damaged. These special buildings were doubtless those "Alms Halls" (*Danṣálá*) mentioned not unfrequently in the *Maháwanṣa.*

The spaciousness and general finish of the present ruin laid bare in the modern Resthouse premises seem to justify its probable identification with the "Máha Páli," that chiefest of Alms Halls greatly favoured of royalty from the sixth to the tenth century.

The excavation of this extensive ruin, deeply buried and tree-covered, occupied the Anurádhapura gang for the better part of 1902.

Mirisavẹṭiya Area.—During the last three months of the year work was resumed in the Mirisavẹṭiya area, and will be pushed towards completion in 1903. The ruins around the Mirisavẹṭiya Dágaba are probably, all told, not more than half a hundred in number, and would appear to offer no special difficulty in unearthing. The style is severely simple and the grouping easily distinguished.

Clearing.—The annual allotment of the vote for clearing ruins and jungle at Anurádhapura was very profitably expended owing to the drought during the first nine months of last year. Nearly six hundred acres were cleared and weeded and some rooting-out done.

Sígiriya.

A gang is engaged at Sígiriya during the early part of every year in the tedious, but essential work of weeding the citadel on the summit and the several terraces and excavated sites below the Rock.

Some re-clearing of undergrowth had to be done within the area of the ancient city.

Steady progress was made in connection with the continued restoration of the "gallery." The work done in 1902 comprised the completion of the iron bridge spanning the gap between the stretch of the gallery along the west face of the Rock, and that hugging its north scarp; as well as the building of a substantial abutment in stone to prevent imminent slip of the long and steep staircase which culminates at the *maḷuwa* below the iron ladders which lead to the Rock's summit.

By the end of next season it is hoped that the gallery will be nearly restored from its broken entrance (near the head of the north and south staircase approaches from the city below) as far onwards as the *maḷuwa.* The serious and unavoidable hindrances in getting bricks, lime, sand, and water to Sígiriya and up into the "gallery," cannot but much delay this most desirable restoration.

With great difficulty, and no little risk, preliminary borings were made into the floor of the largest "pocket," containing the frescoes, and jungle-stick scaffolding erected ready for next season.

The object, as stated last year, is to effectually afford permanent protection to the unique paintings of Sígiriya against the ravages of birds and flying insects. Suitable wire netting, when fixed in position, whilst warding off these destructive pests, will not mar the view of the paintings.

Belated agitation for similar protection to the better-known paintings of the Ajanṭa Caves in India has only recently begun.

Polonnaruwa.

Operations were resumed at Polonnaruwa for the third season in May last.

Weeding the area already excavated in 1900 and 1901, mainly the ruins (Audience Hall, &c.) situated within the promontory, occupied a fortnight or three weeks.

Subsequently attention was given to continuing excavations around the Siva déválé near the 25th milepost on the road from Minnériya. This déválé was exposed last year. Forest trees and scrub jungle are so thick at Polonnaruwa that much felling and clearing was necessary, and proved slow work. By the end of September, however, the entire group of ruins had been excavated and opened out to view from the high road.

This group consists of (*a*) *Siva déválé;* (*b*) a *Vishṇu déválé;* (*c*) a *kóvil* sacred to the goddess *Káli.* In plan and architectural details these shrines display little to differentiate the one from the other. All alike have a vestibule and sanctum ; the Siva déválé alone possesses an intermediate room. They were brick-built, with stone pillars to support the roof where required. Stone figures of *Vishṇu*, *Kali*, and the bull *Nandi* were found near their respective shrines.

Besides these three fanes, this Hindú temple claimed at least three other buildings : (*d*) a plain narrow structure crowning the summit of the rock hummock, on the west slope of which occurs the long inscription of King Nissaṅka Malla ; (*e*) a pillared building, oblong, within its own enclosed premises ; (*f*) a bold terraced building, on massive pillars, immediately adjoining the bund of the old Tópá-vẹwa tank.

This last ruin was perhaps once the principal residence of the ecclesiastics—first Buddhist monks, subsequently alien priests—after the conversion of the monastery into an extensive temple devoted to Hindúism. At the foot of the entrance stairs were exhumed two handsomely carved moonstones adorned with hansas and other ornamentation.

As in 1901, a large number of Moor villagers from the "Marakkala Pattuwa" of Tamankaḍuwa were engaged for a week in continuing to free the ancient city of the jungle in which it lies buried. The area dealt with in the past year extends for a width of two hundred to three hundred yards from the Rankot Vehera as far northwards as the Kiri Vehera.

Council.

Two Members of the Council of 1901, viz., Mr. A. Haly and the Hon. Mr. H. H. Cameron, are deemed to have retired in accordance with Rule 16. The vacancies in the Council have been filled by the appointments of Mr. J. C. Willis and Mr. H. White ; Mr. M. K. Bamber was elected in place of Mr. J. Ferguson, who was appointed a Vice-President.

FINANCES.

The income for the year, exclusive of the commencing balance, was Rs. 1,562·25 ; but there has been exceptional expenditure, especially in the latter half of the year, due chiefly to the issue of a number of the Journal double the usual size. The re-binding of volumes in the Library, too, has been exceptional and continuous throughout the year. In April the Treasurer placed Rs. 1,500 on fixed deposit for a year to secure 3½ per cent. interest, but the printing and binding expenditure being more than twice as large as in 1901, the current account was overdrawn at the end of the year by Rs. 359·42. The interest on the fixed deposit will accrue in April next, and there will be a net gain to the Society of over Rs. 40 ; but the balance sheet discloses that the commencing balance of Rs. 2,200·10 was reduced during the year to Rs. 1,140·58.

3. Mr. M. K. BAMBER, M.R.A.C., M.R.A.S. Eng., F.C.S., moved the adoption of the Report. Mr. C. Batuwantudawa seconded. Carried.

4. On the motion of Mr. P. E. Pieris, seconded by Dr. A. J. Chalmers, the following Office-Bearers were elected for 1903 :—

President.—The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, C.B., C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. F. M. Mackwood, J.P., F.E.S.; the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, F.R.C.I.

Council.

W. G. Van Dort, M.D.
Mr. W. P. Ranasinha.
Mr. S. M. Burrows, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Mr. J. C. Willis, M.A., F.L.S.
Mr. M. K. Bamber, M.R.A.C.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc. Lon., F.R.S.
A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. F. C. Roles, F.J.I., F.R.C.I.

Honorary Secretaries.—Messrs. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S.; J. Harward, M.A.; and G. A. Joseph.

5. Mr. HARWARD, in the absence of Mr. T. B. Pohath, read his Paper entitled—

[See page 10.]

The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.—Statement of Accounts for the Year 1902.

Receipts.	Rs. c.	Rs. c.	Expenditure.	Rs. c.
Balance on December 31, 1901		2,200 10	Books	179 75
Entrance Fees		78 75	Charges	208 49
Annual Subscriptions :—	Rs. c.		Establishment and Salaries	315 0
1896	21 0		Printing and Binding	1,913 97
1897	52 50		Interest on overdraft	4 56
1898	52 50		Fixed deposit at 3½ per cent.	1,500 0
1899	63 0			
1900	115 50			
1901	84 0			
1902	510 0			
1903	36 75			
1904	5 25			
		940 50		
Government grant, 1902		500 0		
Sale of Journals		43 0		
Overdraft, Bank of Madras		359 42		
Total ...		4,121 77	Total ...	4,121 77

Audited and found correct :

February 25, 1903.

J. A. Henderson,
Auditor.

F. Crosbie Roles,
Honorary Treasurer.

TWO OLA GRANTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

By T. B. POHATH.

THE royal grants, which I have the honour to lay before the Society, are *sannas* on *olas* (palm leaves) granted by Kings Senerat and Rája Siṉha II. in the Ṣaka years 1553 and 1567, corresponding to 1631 and 1645 A.D. They were granted at the time the Kandyans were victorious over the Portuguese, who invaded their country. The year preceding the grant of the first *sannasa* was memorable for the defeat of the Portuguese under the General Don Constantino de Sá. This was followed eight years later by a similar disastrous attack on the Portuguese by the Kandyan sovereign.

At Kahaṭapiṭiya, or more properly at Illawatura, the descendants of the grantee Suḷuṭṭán Kuṭṭiyá are yet in the enjoyment of a portion of the royal gift of their honoured ancestor.

The *sannas* themselves are very unpretentious. They are written, with ample space on the margins, on two strips of plain double *ola* leaves with ill-formed though legible characters. They measure $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in., and $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in.; and are much worn. Both the grants bear the characteristic royal sign ශ්‍රී (*Ṣrí*) in larger letters on the left margins.

These *sannas* were evidently granted for skill in medical science. The Gopála Moors of Gẹtubériya are also members of this distinct body, and have received royal favour for similar service.

The grantee's survivors are now living at Sakkaraṉkoṭuwa, a portion of land dedicated to "Bháwakauf," said to be one of five celebrated saints who came from Mecca.

ශ්‍රී

SANNASA NO. 1.

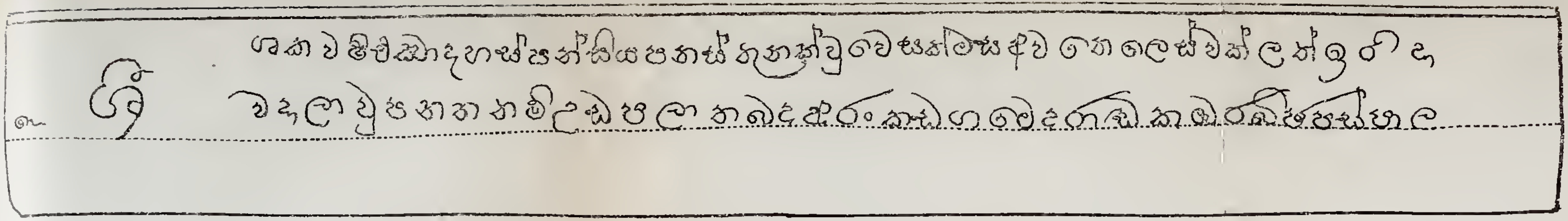
Text.

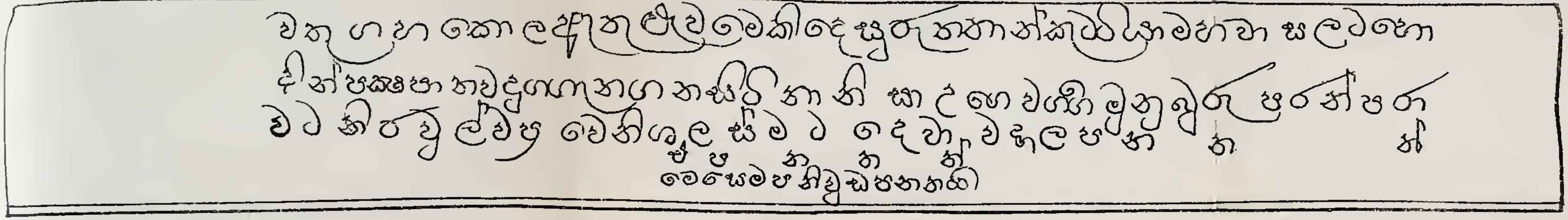
1. ශක වර්ෂ එක්වාදහස් පන්සිය පනස්තුනක්වූ වෙසක් මස අව තෙලෙස්වක් ලත් ඉරිදෘ
2. වදෘලාවූ පනත නම් උඩපලාත බද අරංකඩ ගමෙ දරාඩ කුඹුර බිජු පස් පෑල
3. [. . . . .]*
4. වතු ගහ කොල ඇතුළුව මෙකී දෙ සුරුත්තාන් කුට්ටියා මහවාසලට හො
5, දින් පක්ෂ පාතව දුගගෑන ගන සිටිනා නිසා උගෙ වර්ග මුනුබුරු පරන්පරා

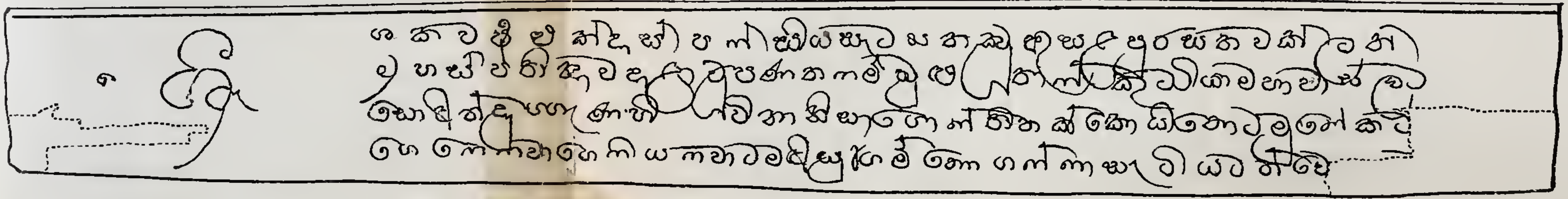
* The upper surface of the *ola* has completely gone below line 2 on that side.

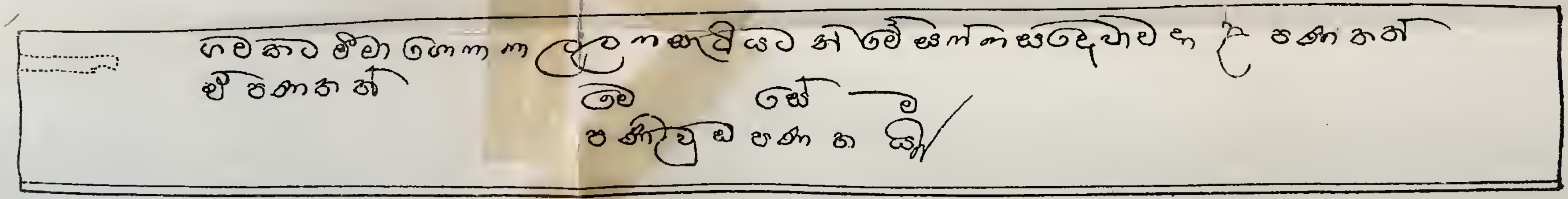
ක්ලත්ඉරිඳ
රබශ්පස්හල

ාවා සලටෙනා
ා පුරන්පර
ත ත්









6. වට නිරවුල්ව ප්‍රවෙනි ශලස්මට දෙවා වදාල පනතත්
7. එ පනතාත්
8. මෙසෙම පනිවුඩ පනතයි

Transcript.

Ṣri.

1. Ṣaka warsha ekwádahas pansiya panas tunakvu Vesak masa awa teleswak lat Iridá
2. wadálavu panata naṃ Uḍapaláta bada Aran̥kaḍa game Daráňḍa kumbura biju pas pęla
3. [. . . .]
4. watu gaha koḷa ętuḷuwa meki de Suruṭṭán Kuṭṭiyá Maha Wásalaṭa ho
5. ňdin paksha pátawa duggęṇa gana siṭiná nisá uge wargga munuburu paranpará
6. wata niravulwa praveni ṣalasmaṭa devá wadála panatat
7. e panatat
8. mesema paṇivuḍa panatayi.

Translation.

Hail! The royal order proclaimed on Sunday, the thirteenth day of the waning moon of the month of Vesak (May-June), in the year of Ṣaka 1553 (A.D. 1631). That as Suruṭṭán Kuṭṭiyá is performing good, loyal, and faithful services to His Mighty Majesty, the field Daráňda of five pélas sowing extent of the village Aran̥kada in Uḍapaláta,.................... ....this property, including the gardens and trees ...., has been granted unto his grandchildren for generations, to be possessed undisturbedly, as *paraveni*. The order thus delivered, that order is hereby declared the royal decree.

Sannasa No. 2.

ශ්‍රී

Text.

1. ශක වර්ෂ එක්දස් පන්සිය සැටසතක්වූ ඇසළ පුර සතවක් ලත්
2. බ්‍රහස්පතින්දා වදාලාවූ පණත නම් වුළුතාන් කුට්ටිසා මහා වාසලට
3. සොදින් දුගගැණ හිටිනා නිසා ගොන් තිහක් කොයි තොට මූනේකට
4. ගෙනෙනවා ගෙනියනවාට මදිසුන්ගම් නොගන්නා සැටියටත් වෙ[න]
5. ගමකට මීමා ගොනා නාල්ලන සැටියටත් මේ සන්නස දෙවා වදාල පණතත්
6. ඒ පණතත්
7. මෙ සේ ම
8. පණිවුඩ පණතයි

Transcript.

ṢRI.

1. Ṣaka warsha ekdás pansiya sẹṭa satakvú Ẹsaḷa pura satawak lat
2. Brahaspatindá wadáḷávú paṇata nam Chuḷuṭṭán Kuṭṭiyá Mahá Wásalaṭa
3. soňdin duggẹṇa hiṭiná nisá gon tihak koyi toṭamuṇékaṭa
4. genenawá geniyanawáta madisungam noganná sẹṭiyaṭat ve[na]
5. gamakata mímá goná nállana sẹṭiyaṭat mé sannasa devá wadáḷá paṇatat

   é paṇatat

   meséma paṇivuḍa paṇatayi.

Translation.

Hail! The royal order pronounced on Thursday, the seventh day of the waning moon of the month of Ẹsala (July–August) in the year of Ṣaka 1567 (A.D. 1645). That as Chuḷuṭṭán Kuṭṭiyá is performing good and faithful service to His Mighty Majesty, no taxes should be levied, for the bringing into, or removal from, any ferry, on thirty head of [his] cattle, nor [his] bull or buffalo seized in [another] village. The order on which this *sannasa* is delivered, that order, is hereby declared the royal decree.

NOTES.

1.—*Sannas* are royal grants inscribed on gold, silver, copper, or stone, plain or ornamented. A grant given on an *ola* was, strictly speaking, a *tuḍapota*. In grants of less importance the king merely issued the command, the terms being arranged by the First Adigar or the Second Adigar, who himself gave it to the grantee. The Adigárs also had the exclusive power of granting, in all cases, written decrees for lands, called *sittu*, and decrees for oaths by oil, called *divi sittu;* save in cases of appeal of very grave criminal offences or big civil suits, decided personally by the king when parties were aggrieved by the decision of the chiefs. In these cases, too, the king usually directed the Chief Adigar to issue the decree. The Disáwas themselves had authority to issue *sittu* and *divi sittu* in their respective districts. *Talpat* were ordinary *ola* conveyances, executed by private individuals, even by an Adigár in his unofficial capacity.

2.—King Senerat reigned at Kandy from A.D. 1604–1634. He was called Senaratana Unnánse, and had been a priest of Adam's Peak. He solicited the hand of the widowed Queen Dona Catherina, and married her afterwards, having put his rival, the Prince of Uva, to death. Very friendly relations existed between this king and the Dutch, who helped him to overthrow the Portuguese. The *Rájávaliya* records the drowning of the queen's eldest son, caused by the king.

3.—Rája Sinha II. also reigned at Kandy, A.D. 1634–1687. A similar *sannasa* on an ola was granted by him to Hada Naide of Mangalagama in the Kégalla District, on Saturday, the seventh day of the waning moon in the month of Wap (October–November), Śaka 1566, equivalent to 1644 A.D. (*Archæological Report*, *Kégalla*, pp. 98 and 99). The concluding line of this *sannasa* exactly corresponds with that of the second grant now under notice.

4.—A strip of *Sannasa A* is missing. The loss leaves us ignorant of the appurtenant high land given to the grantee along with the field "Darāṅḍa kumbura."

5.—In August, 1630, Don Constantino de Sá with a large army plundered and burnt Badulla; but on his return the Kandyans surrounded and defeated him. The head of the General was presented to the king's son, Rája Sinha, who happened to be then bathing in a brook (*Tennent*, vol. 2, pp. 40 and 41; *Valentyn*, pp. 16, 142).

The *Rájavaliya* says: "That the heads of the Portuguese were cut off and piled in a heap." Knox says that Constantino de Sá, rather than fall by the enemy, called his black boy to give him water to drink, and snatching the knife from his side stabbed himself (*Relation*, *&c.*, p. 117).

6.—Again in A.D. 1638, on the occasion of their sudden attack on Kandy, the entire army of the Portuguese was destroyed, and the skulls built in a pyramid by the Kandyans (*Tennent*, vol. 2, p. 42).

7.—Kahatapitiya; a suburb of Gampola, about half a mile from town.

8.—Sultán Kuṭṭiyá. This man originally came, it appears, from the Malayálam country and settled at Galle, practising medicine. King Senerat summoned him to the Court of Kandy. He showed remarkable skill in his profession, and was soon taken into royal favour. The king bestowed on him the lands at Arankada (Kahaṭapiṭiya), near Gampola, where he lived and died. The members of this family were known as *Gállé Vedarálalá*, "the doctors of Galle." The last male survivor of the family died in 1874. He himself practised medicine successfully. His son-in-law, Ibrahim Lebbe Udaiyár of Uḍunuwara, followed the same profession. He held an act of appointment as Veda Árachchi from Government, in addition to being the Peace Officer and Árachchi of the village. The members of the family are scattered at Inigala in Hárispattu; Almékada, Velanboḍa, and Búwẹlikaḍa in Uḍunuwara; Gẹtabériya, Wádiyatẹnna in Four Kóralés, &c. They hold a higher social position than that of ordinary Moors. Sir A. C. Lawrie says: "A family of doctors (Moormen), having been admitted to the *Bét-gé* or the Royal Medical Department, are considered equal to the Vellálas. They came originally from Uḍunuwara." (*Gazetteer*, vol. I., p. 395.)

9.—Gẹtabériya, a village in Tunpalátá Pattuwa of Paranakúruwa in the District of Kégalla. For the *sannasa* granted by King Kírti Śrí Rája Sinha, dated Śaka 1682 (1760 A.D.), and an interesting account of the Gopála Moors, see *Archæological Report*, *Kegalla*, pp. 99–101.

10.—The site where the mosque at Kaháṭapiṭiya now stands was, in days past, nothing more than a waste, with only a kitul and a banyan tree. An ascetic from Mecca sat here in an attitude of devotion His motionless posture struck the attention of a toddy-drawer, who came to tap the palm flower. To ascertain whether the statue-like man

was dead or living, he stealthily sliced off a piece of his nose. The devotee was still as death. The following morn the toddy-drawer was astonished to see the piece he had cut off re-attached to the nose, as if nothing had happened. The awe-struck man told his experience to the king at Gampola, who visited the ascetic and asked what he could give him. "Nothing but a strip of land to lay my head on." When the king wished to know the extent required, he threw his bangle, called *sakkarán walalla*, in four different directions, and the area included therein was granted him. Hence "*Sakkaránkotuwa*," the space included within the *sakkarán* bangle. *Sakkarán* is a circle, a wheel, in Tamil; also a Malabar coin.

11.—Bhawakauf the saint was deified, and a tomb is built to his memory. This was supplemented by the mosque later on. His name is universally revered by the Mohammedans to the present day. Strange to say, natives of all classes take an oath here "by rubbing chunam on the walls," which they consider binding on them. They supplicate the saint's vengeance upon evil-doers. Litigants from the Gampola courts often resort here. Sir A. C. Lawrie, speaking of the place, says: "The mosque is famous: in its premises is an unpretending building called the 'Makkan Sohongeya' (tomb), said to be the burial place of a saint who visited the place (Kaháṭapiṭiya, near Gampola) from Mecca." (*Gazetteer*, vol. I., p. 395.)

12.—Vesak. The month in which the moon is full in the sixteenth asterism (May–June). Lucky month of the Siṃhalese, celebrated for the birthday of Buddha. The Upasampadá ordination of the Buddhist clergy takes place in this month.

13.—*Duggeṇa gana siṭinawá.* It is a frequent wording in Kandyan royal grants. The word *duka* is peculiarly used in the Kandyan district. It means *love* with the Kandyans, and *sorrow* with the Low-country Siṃhalese. The phrase therefore literally means, "served with love." In the Low-country the Siṃhalese would render it as, "stricken with sorrow." In English it corresponds to "faithful services rendered" to the State.

14.—*Maha Wásala.* This is often incorrectly interpreted, as "Great Gate;" no doubt from the Tamil வாசல், Siṃhalese වාසල් *wásal*, meaning "door" or entrance to a house. *Máha Wásala* means "royal palace"; freely rendered, it signifies "His Majesty." *Máha Wásala* always indirectly refers to the king. Thus we find *Kóṭṭe Máha Wásala, Kuṇḍasálé Máha Wásala*, &c. The royal gate was called *Wahalkaḍa;* the entrance to the "old palace" at Kandy is still so called. There was an officer called "Wahalkaḍé Muhandiama," or "Wahalkaḍé Árachchi," who served at the royal gate. The king was familiarly called by those attached to the palace, *Máhala Hámuduruvó*, a contraction of "*Máha Wásala Hámuduruvó.*"

15.—*Daránḍa.* The name given to the upper portion of a field, the opposite word being *Mulwákkada*, the lower portion. These words are peculiar to the Kandyan dialect. This particular field has since passed to other hands. A portion of it has been swept away by the Máhaveli-gaṅga in flood.

16.—*Araṃkaḍa.* There is no village so called in Uḍapaláta. A tract of land forming a part of Illawatura village, about 2½ acres in extent, is called "Araṃkaḍa." This is probably the Araṃkaḍa of the *sannasa.*

17.—*Uḍapaláta.* A revenue division, under a Raṭémahatmayá, belonging to the Central Province. Gampola is its chief town.

18.—*Paraveni*. Ancestral property, or land given to be possessed by the recipient and his descendants for ever.

19.—*Madisungan*. Duty levied on tavalam cattle while crossing ferries.

20.—No head of cattle belonging to Sulṭán Kuṭṭiyá could be taken by any one for any kind of service,* nor seized for trespass.

6. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár, said he unfortunately had not had the opportunity of seeing copies of the original *sannas* until that day, and then only for a short time.

The first of these *sannas* bore the date Ṣaka 1553, Sunday, the thirteenth day of the waning moon of the month of Vesak. He had looked into Sir Alexander Cunningham's "Table of Dates." According to that work the "thirteenth day of the waning moon of the month of Vesak in the year of Ṣaka 1553" fell not on a Sunday, but on a Wednesday ; so that there was a discrepancy. The writing, too, of the *sannasa*, of which he had seen a facsimile copy, did not appear to him to be the writing of the Siṇhalese of the seventeenth century. He did not, therefore, think that this could be a genuine *sannasa*. Perhaps, if he saw the original, he might have reason to change his opinion.

As to the second *sannasa*, he thought there was a good deal to say on the side of its genuineness. The writing did look like the writing of the seventeenth century. Further, the document seemed to be not of a kind to be forged for any purpose ; because the deed seemed to grant certain exemptions to one Suluṭṭán Kuṭṭiyá ; and he believed these privileges did not descend on his successors. Therefore it was difficult to see why at any subsequent date any person should have forged that document. There was still the same difficulty as with the first *sannasa* with regard to the date. He had tested the date according to Sir Alexander Cunningham's "Table of Dates," and he found that "the seventh day of the waxing moon of the month Ẹsala in the year of Ṣaka 1567" fell not, as stated in the *sannasa*, on a Thursday, but on a Sunday. That objection he thought was very fatal to the genuineness of the documents. The Siṇhalese had their calendar of dates, and were guided by that calendar in documents that passed under their hands. So far, therefore, the presumption was against the admission of the genuineness of the *sannas*.†

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson said he could not follow the previous speaker into his technical criticism. For himself, he was chiefly attracted by the historical notes ; by the reference to the murderous priest-king, who caused both his rival to the hand of the queen and the young princely heir to be put to death. The time was a critical one for the Siṇhalese monarchy, just when it was welcoming the Hollanders as protectors from the Portuguese—a case very much of "out of the frying-pan into the fire," as they soon proved. The incident as to the grant of land within the circuit of the bangle had its parallel in the case of the founder of the Hay (Erroll) family in Scottish history, and no doubt in other countries. He was interested in what was mentioned in regard to the origin of certain Mosques, and would suggest that an interesting Paper might be compiled out of the history of the leading Mohammedan mosques in the Island.

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* Following the prohibitions in grants to temples as recorded in lithic inscriptions of earlier date.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

† See *infra*, p. 46, and footnote.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

Mr. D. B. JAYATILAKA said that it was difficult for any one to pass an opinion on the genuineness of these *sannas*, unless they were "experts" who had made a special study of such old grants.* Leaving aside the minor question raised by Mudaliyár Guṇawardhana as to whether the documents placed before them were genuine or not, they were very interesting; and the author deserved their best thanks. The notes were full of interesting information. They brought before them a very interesting fact with regard to the medical history of Ceylon. These grants had been made for past services rendered by two medical men. He believed their descendants were still living in Ceylon. These men were known by the name of Muhandirams of the Royal Medical Service, and, if he was not mistaken, their descendants still passed by that name.

The CHAIRMAN said it seemed they were agreed that the Paper in itself was an interesting one, and the notes especially appeared to be very interesting. With the safeguarding note as to the genuineness of the *sannas* which had been already recorded by Mr. H. C. P. Bell, Archæological Commissioner, and with Mr. Guṇawardhana's remarks just offered, they would accept the Paper and give the thanks of the Meeting to the author.

7. Mr. PIERIS then read the following Paper :—

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* The two *sannas* were held to be genuine by the Archæological Commissioner, who examined both carefully.

AN ACCOUNT OF KING KIRTI SRI'S EMBASSY TO SIAM IN 1672 SAKA (1750 A.D.).

Translated from the Siŋhalese by P. E. Pieris, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, C.C.S.

Introduction.

The learned Ratanapála Sthavira, who wrote the Siŋhalese translation of the *Vimána Wastuwa* in the Ṣaka year 1692 (1770 A.D.), has left a short sketch of the history of the decline of the priesthood in Laŋká and of the attempts made under various kings to re-establish it on a sound basis. He says :—

Two hundred and forty years after the death of our Lord Buddha, the shelter of all the worlds, who departed this life after he had for forty-five years showered on all the heavenly food of his doctrine, and had accomplished every act which befits a Buddha (when the Maha Rája Pẹtissa was holding sway over our Island of Laŋká), his doctrine was first introduced by Mahiňdu Maha Thérό and the other priests who accompanied him from Dambadiva. Ever since the faithful and wise kings who have reigned from time to time, aided by their great ministers and the efforts of pious priests learned in the law, had carefully swept away all schisms that had sprung up and preserved the doctrine inviolate. But in recent times the disappearance of such kings and ministers, followed by the oppression of the unbelieving Paraŋgis and Damiḷás, had robbed the pious priests of the Four Necessaries ; and as the religious young men of good families who assumed the robe had not the learning to study with care the Three Piṭakas, which contain the *Vinaya*, *Sútra*, and *Abhidharma*, and to order their lives in consonance with the precepts contained therein, by degrees power fell into the hands of low-born priests of profane life, to the great injury of the church. And as for the priestly succession, which beginning from Upáli Stháviraуό (whom the Buddha himself had named as the first in the knowledge of the *Vinaya*), and continued in the persons of Dasekaya, Sonakaya, Siggavaya, Moggaliputthaya, Mihindu, &c., and recruited from all pious folk who assumed the robe without any distinction of family in proper and perpetual succession of master and pupil, this they ignored ; and, confusing physical with spiritual kinship, refused to allow pious young men of good family to assume the robe, and treated all the estates and wealth which generations of godly kings and ministers had dedicated to the service of the priesthood as if they had been dedicated to the use of their private families. Accordingly, for the sake of this wealth, they had the members of their own families ordained, so that being

robed they might receive the due *rájakáriya*; pretending that this was the succession appointed by the church. But indeed that succession, which was maintained immaculate by disrobing all priests who had violated their oaths and by the ordination of religious and well-born youths, was reduced to a mockery; and, save for a few holy priests, the majority were as men fouling themselves with hot ashes while the gems lay before them. And while the *Dharma* and the *Vinaya*, subjects for unending study, lay in their path, they preferred the study of such profane matters as astrology, medicine, and devil-worship, all of which they practised in unbecoming fashion within and without the capital; and thus winning the goodwill of kings and powerful ministers they obtained much wealth and high office. They led scandalous lives and, ignoring the precepts of the law, they betook themselves to cultivation and trade, accumulating jewellery and clothes, and making the support of their brothers and nephews an article of their faith. When by the increase in the number of these shameless priests and by the oppression of the unbelieving Parangis and Damilás the faith was on the brink of destruction, it came to pass that a valiant and powerful king of the name of Rája Sinha succeeded to the throne of Lanká. In the year of Buddha 2199* he reduced the strong fortress of Colombo and crushed the power of the Parangis. He also invited over the Hollanders and, with the object of protecting the royal line and the inhabitants of the Island from the attacks of unbelieving foreigners, he appointed them to be the guardians of the coast.

The way being thus cleared, Rája Sinha's successor Vimala Dharma Súriya devoted himself to the good work; and indeed the need was pressing, as it was admitted that not more than five Upasampada priests of holy life were to be found in the Island. He accordingly sent an embassy to "*Rakkangu Raṭa*" (Arracan?) and obtained thence the ten ranks of priests who were required for the ordination ceremony.

This pious king died after a reign of twenty-two years, and was succeeded by the lukewarm Naréndra Sinha; under whom all the scandalous practices of the priesthood revived. "So far from begging from door to door," the historian bitterly complains, "they regarded even the eating out of their alms-bowls as a disgrace. Their food was cooked in the same fashion as that of the great nobles among the laity; and it was eaten out of plates. In fact, they were priests in nothing but the use of the name." There was one bright exception, in the person of Saranankara the future Sanga Rája. He continued with a small band in the practice of the severest austerities and the pursuit of learning, waiting for the better day that was to dawn.

After a reign of twenty-three years Naréndra Sinha was succeeded by Wijaya Rája Sinha, "a king endowed with all the virtues, the ornament of the Solar race,

* A.D. 1656.

who sought his refuge in the Three-fold Gem," says the enthusiastic chronicler. Early in his reign he sent an embassy to fetch a body of priests. The expedition was however disastrous, all except one perishing in the sea. The survivor made his way to Pegu, whence he returned home to tell the sorrowful tale.

But the king did not lose heart. A second embassy was soon ready and provided with suitable offerings. On arriving at Batavia the presents were left behind, while the ambassadors proceeded to Siam to inquire if priests were available; but on their return to Batavia they learnt that their good king was dead. As their Dutch hosts advised them not to convey the priests without first ascertaining the wishes of the ruling king, they reluctantly set sail for Lanká leaving the presents behind, their object unaccomplished. Their misfortunes were, however, only begun, as on the voyage the majority perished, but few surviving to reach their country.

There King Kirti Śrí Rája Sinha, the great reformer, had succeeded to the Crown; he applied himself vigorously to sweeping away all the abuses that had crept into the priesthood, ably and zealously supported by his Minister Ehelapola and Saranankara Unnánsé. His crowning work was the re-institution of the *Upasampadáwa* in Lanká. The romantic history of the embassy he sent to Siam to fetch the necessary priests will be shown in the following account, which, as appears from the internal evidence, must have been written either by Ellépola Mohottála or Aittaliyaddé Rála, two out of the five Sinhalese ambassadors.

The present translation, which does not pretend to literal accuracy, is made from a paper manuscript which has been generously placed at my disposal by E. R. Gooneratne Mudaliyár of Galle; it was found among the papers of the late Valentine de Saram, Maha Mudaliyár, and was given by his son-in-law, the late Bandáranáyaka Maha Mudaliyár, to his own nephew, the present owner.

A second account, written by Wilbágedara Muhandiram, another of the ambassadors, is in existence; the additional information contained therein will be found embodied in the notes.

I have been also favoured with the comments of the Priest Jinawarawansa of royal blood, once known as the Prince Prisdang of Siam. These, too, will be found included.* I have further to acknowledge the great assistance I have received from Don Dines Dahanáyaka of Galle in the preparation of this article.

* See notes subscribed "J."

Translation.

Our mighty lord, sprung from Maha Sammata of the family of Manu, king of kings, and ruler of the world, our gracious and illustrious king, in the magnitude of his kindness and the splendour of his god-like knowledge gave order that ambassadors should proceed to the kingdom of Siam to fetch thence the priesthood and re-establish the festival of the Great Ordination.

Accordingly we started in the Ṣaka year 1672 named Prabavadithmi, on the twelfth day of the solar month Kataka, being Thursday the fifth day of the lunar month, at dusk, from the noble city of Seṇkaḍagala called Siriwardhanapura, escorting the royal message and presents with all care. The following had been appointed to form the embassy, viz., Pattapola Mohoṭṭála, the Atapattu Lékama ; Ellépola Mohoṭṭála, the Veḍikkára Lékama ; Íriyagama Rála, the Yaṭinuwara Muhandiram of the Nánáyakkára Lékama ; Wilbágedara Rála, the Tumpanahe Muhandiram of the Paḍikára Lékama ; and Aittaliyaddé Rála, the Dumbara Muhandiram of the Veḍikára Lékama ; while Pinnapáta, Dissavé of Mátalé ; Angammana Mohoṭṭála, the Maha Lékama ; Doḍanwela, Raṭé Rála of Yaṭinuwara ; Ṅilawaturé Rála, Muhandiram of the Lékama of Musketeers ; and Usgiriya Rála, Muhandiram of the Nánáyakkára Lékama, had been commanded to accompany us on board ship.

Our first halt was at Waṭṭáranṭenna. Thence we started on the fourth day, being Sunday, at the tenth hour, and approached Goḍapola Nuwara, where we rested two days. On Tuesday we started at the eleventh hour of the morning and halted at Nálanda. On Wednesday we halted at Gónawala, on Thursday at Mingirivewa, on Friday at Alutvewa, on Saturday at Gantalé, and on Sunday we reached Tambalagamuwa, where we rested two days. On Tuesday we started at the thirteenth hour and about the eighth hour after dark we approached the harbour of Trincomalee ; where three officers from the fort met us and accompanied us with the royal message and presents together with our attendants and soldiers, amidst every mark of respect, to our halting-place. On Wednesday afternoon we were escorted with much ceremony within the fort, where we had an interview befitting the occasion with the Commander, after which we were again escorted back to our lodging, when the officers left us.

On the morning of the following Thursday, being the fifth day of the lunar month, about the twenty-eighth hour, in the propitious asterism Hata in the Makara Lagna, when Venus was in the ascendant, we went on board. Here we remained seven days till on Wednesday morning at the twenty-seventh hour the flags were run up and sail hoisted, the anchors were weighed, and we steered out of the harbour with a fair breeze. On the following Thursday night about the sixteenth hour a storm overtook us and the ship was in great danger. Two masts and sails and several ropes were destroyed, and the ship was driven round and round. In our peril we consoled ourselves with the reflection of the Three-fold Gem, till our gallant captain came and bid us be of good cheer. Till Friday morning he was encouraging his skilful steersman to stand by the helm, and we rushed forward at a great pace. We roughly repaired the damage and drove the ship before the wind for twelve days and nights without ceasing, till on Monday morning we saw to the north a long stretch of level land and a high range of hills with three beautiful peaks, mountains of

enormous size, shaped like corn ricks. Next we sighted Acheen and Sumatra and learned that they were inhabited by Javanese. Till noon on the eighth day, being Monday, these great plains and hills and rocky mountains remained in sight. On this day the wind dropped and we were at a standstill for seven days, and were even obliged to cast anchor to prevent the ship drifting back. At last on Sunday morning, the wind freshening, we weighed anchor again and started. By midday we sighted to the north a lofty range of mountains and two stretches of low land at the mouth of a river as well as a harbour; this was a country inhabited by Malays. To north, south, east, and west we saw four small vessels, and on the north-east a large ship. Our captain was greatly alarmed, as he did not know if they were friends or foes, and while they were still at a distance he weighed anchor, turned his ship round, and steered back fifteen *gaw*.

Having thus escaped the danger, we started again on our way, and seven days later on Sunday morning we sighted on the east a great rocky mountain surrounded by a dense forest of *kolon* trees with a bank of sand stretching round it. The captain, telling us that if we drew near we would not be able to cross the bar, made great efforts for seven days to tack to the south. He succeeded at last and we started again at dawn on Sunday and sailed on for four days. In the evening we sounded and found twelve fathoms of water; and as there was a stretch of sand by the mouth of a river we furled sail and dropped anchor. On Thursday sail was hoisted in the ship's boat and several people with an officer started to explore. They returned on Friday morning and reported that extensive sandbanks lay on every side.

The captain accordingly fitted out another boat with all the necessary tackle and sent an officer with eight sailors to Malacca. On Saturday morning our ship snapped one of her cables, lost her anchor, and began to toss about; but our captain quickly lowered another anchor. Seven days later on Thursday, five hours after dawn, the officer who had proceeded to Malacca returned with the Company's factor and the chief carpenter called the Bass Thuvan Bramath, who brought with them in two sloops a large supply of water, betel, and arecanuts, with cocoanuts tender and hard; they addressed us with great kindness, and re-starting the ship we arrived the same evening at the harbour of Malacca. Here we waited three days till five officers came on board from the fort to welcome us and take us with the royal message and presents with our attendants on land. This was at dusk on Sunday, the twenty-ninth day of the solar month Kanya, being the eleventh day of the waning half of the lunar month. On landing we were conducted with great ceremony to our halting-place. On the seventh day following, being Wednesday, the Governor and the Fiscal called on us in the afternoon to inquire after our well-being; and the next day five officers took us in horse carriages to return the visit and accompanied us back again. On Sunday the twelfth day of the solar month we were taken back on boardship in sloops. Here we found all the damage properly repaired, and at dawn on Wednesday we set sail and proceeded without stopping for eight days, till on Thursday we saw a range of mountains, rocky plains, hills, and sandy stretches surrounding us like the embankment of a tank. The captain and officers after much deliberation declared that it would be useless to sail back; and examining their chart and noticing three leafy trees on one of the stretches of sand that lay in our way, they steered the ship through a narrow passage that lay near and after four days passed the range of mountains.

Then we proceeded four days till, on Thursday evening, on looking round us we saw that we had passed the ranges of hills and high mountains with their plains and great forests and the sea with its stretches of sand, and had reached the open. As the wind failed we cast anchor, having three mountains to our south. After ten days the wind freshened somewhat; so we weighed anchor and tacked about for five days and nights, trying in vain to get on to our course. As we were drifting back and were too far to the south to reach Siam, the captain and officers held a consultation, and as they saw from their books that there was no hope of a favourable wind for the next six months, they agreed that it was necessary to stop on the way till then. After informing us of their decision they turned back, and on the afternoon of Friday, being fourteen days later, we approached the harbour of Malacca a second time and cast anchor. After some delay five officers came on board from the fort to interview us, and took us on land with the royal message and presents in boats. This was on the afternoon of Saturday the seventeenth day of the solar month Vṛischika. We were received with great distinction and the same halting-place as before was assigned to us, and all our wants were supplied without stint. From this day we remained here five months and eleven days till the twenty-seventh day of the solar month Mésa, being Thursday the eleventh day of the lunar month in the Ṣaka year 1673. On the morning of this day, at the twentieth hour, we were taken on board with many presents and a large supply of necessaries; a skilled pilot was also ordered to accompany us, and 500 rix-dollars were placed at our disposal.

From this day, being Friday, till Monday the fourteenth day of the solar month Vrasamba, which is the thirteenth day of the dark half of the lunar month, we sailed on without casting anchor or meeting with any mischance. On the morning of this day at the eleventh hour we approached the harbour of Siam, and seeing a ship which was recognized from her appearance as the Hollander's ship "Karta," the captain and officers were greatly rejoiced and fired off the guns and celebrated games, speaking to us most kindly and asking us to join them. When we dropped anchor the Hollander's flag was lowered, and the Lion Flag of Laṇká was hoisted at the masthead. At the same time the captain got into his boat and sailed quickly to the mouth of the river and up to the country of Siam.

Seven days later, on Monday morning, three messengers came on board from Siam and had an interview with us. They went and saw how the royal message was disposed, and prostrated themselves and made obeisance before it three times; after this they presented us with cocoanuts tender and hard, with betel and arecanuts, and went away the same day. On the twentieth day of the solar month Mithuna, which is the eighth day of the increasingmoon of the lunar month Poson, being Wednesday, about the tenth hour of the morning, two officers came from the capital and accompanied us with the royal message and presents to the place called Amsterdam, which is built at the mouth of the river; here we landed and remained two days. On the morning of the third day, being Friday the ninth day of the month, the message was transferred to a boat adorned with various devices, with hangings of silk and red stuffs which served as curtains, with awnings above and carpets below. The presents were taken in thirteen boats: five boats were set apart for the five ambassadors, and our attendants too were similarly provided for. The escort that had come from Siam

accompanied us in forty-eight boats with their tents adorned in the manner described above, rowing on either side of us. Eight large boats with flags and umbrellas were attached to the one conveying the royal message by means of stout ropes, one to each, thus taking the latter in tow. We proceeded in this manner up the river amidst great rejoicings on the part of the people, and the same afternoon we reached the district called Bangkok. The Siamese officer stationed here received us with great respect and provided us with all necessaries.

The next morning, being Saturday, the chief priests from the neighbouring viháras were invited to the spot, and accepted alms at our hands with robes and the priestly necessaries, and the Pañcha-síla was administered, after which we and our attendants were entertained at a feast. Leaving here the same morning we arrived in the evening at the district called Mung Nolak Van, where too the Siamese officer entertained us. The next morning, being Sunday, he arranged for the chief priests to come and accept offerings at our hands and to administer *pansil*, after which we were entertained in turn. Immediately after this we started, and by rowing the whole night we reached the spot called Wat Pro Yath at dawn on Monday, and halted near the great viháré there. Here too we were received with the same ceremony, and similar religious exercises were arranged for us by the officer in command; further, in obedience to the king's order he arranged an *Upasampadá Cháritra Piṅkama* at this temple, so that we might both derive pleasure and acquire merit by the sight.

We remained seven days, and at dawn on the eighth day, being Monday, five great Officers of State came from the capital and took the royal message in a large canopied litter which was placed on board a gilt boat, while we proceeded in five others accompanied by the presents and attendants. When we reached the spot called Bai Pas Sath the two banks of the river were adorned with arches of gold and silver cloth, while a large concourse of people holding flags and umbrellas of various kinds were thronged together on gaily decked boats. We were filled with admiration at the sights on this river, crowded as it was with every kind of merchandise.

About the eighth hour of the same morning we approached the capital of Ayódhya Pura and were presented to the sub-king. We showed him the royal message and presents, at which he expressed his great pleasure and spoke to us most kindly for a short time and inquired about our journey. He further informed us that a subsequent communication would be made to us regarding the presentation of the royal message and presents at the court. After this he desired us to return to our halting-place. We accordingly returned down the river to the Dutch settlement.

When the Siamese officers had conveyed the news to the king, he sent orders that we and our attendants were to be fully supplied with all necessaries from the royal stores during our stay here.

Later some officers came with a large supply of all kinds of eatables and sweets of sugar, with mandarin oranges, ripe plantains, betel, arecanuts, lime, tobacco, and various other articles. They came a second time and distributed silver coins called *ticcal* and *masam-puwa* from the royal treasury among us all. Moreover, the tradespeople were ordered to attend the people from Laṇká, the chief priests of the viháras were requested to be so kind as to visit the men at all times and to preach *baṇa*, and to please them by allowing them to offer the usual offerings and thus acquire merit.

On the seventeenth day of the solar month Kaṭaka about five hours before dawn three officers came and accompanied us in boats. We landed in the street at the great gate in the city wall and entered carriages drawn by horses. The two sides of the street were decorated with various kinds of cloths and hung with gilt lamps shaped like pumpkins decorated with glass and plates of mica ; the street shone as with moonlight in the blaze of a hundred thousand lamps. We drove up the middle of the street as far as the great gate called Yam Thak. It was one unbroken stretch of gold-worked cloths of five colours, trays and boxes of silver and gold, ornaments of copper, bronze, brass, and zinc, red and white sandalwood, embroidered quilts and curtains, all kinds of medical stores, rice, cocoanuts, plantains, mandarin oranges, oranges, sweetmeats, all manner of flowers, all manner of eatables and drinkables, with sweets and meats : the shops were adorned with gilding, and the street a blaze of splendour. When we arrived within sight of the palace, which shone with gilt work, we alighted from our carriages and rested a short time in a hall hung with beautiful curtains where, according to their custom, *sapu* flowers were presented to us. Then we proceeded within the palace, entering by two gates adorned with gilding and all kinds of colours. On either side of the great throne were arranged figures of bears, lions rákshas, door-guardians, nágas, and baírawa yakshayás, two of each, adorned with gold. In their midst rose the throne, which appeared about 10 cubits high ; round it were fixed golden *sésat*, while marvellous golden embroideries were hung round. The walls themselves were gilt and the finials above the dais were of gold. Here we were brought before the king and presented the royal letter and presents, after which we were graciously permitted to visit the interior of the place.

To the right of this was a gilt elephant stall ; within—covered with trappings of solid gold, with golden bells, frontlets, and eye-chains, gold-worked *henduwa* and *aṇkusa*, behind a network of ropes plated with gold, with a golden awning above secured to a post covered with plates of gold, with gilt tail and trunk, its tusks adorned with golden rings and encased with golden sheaths set with two magnificent gems at their tips, eating sugar-cane from a large gilt boat set up within, while another such held water for its use—there stood, on a gold-worked platform, a tusked elephant, with its eyes and hair the colour of copper. In a similar stall was a black tusker thickly covered with gray spots. Similarly on our left were two elephants in their stalls.

In front of the gate in a gilt stable, almost hidden beneath their trappings of solid gold, was a ring of horses ; a similar ring faced this, also another of elephants with gilt trappings. In the intervals of these was an innumerable host armed with gilt swords and shields resting on their knees ; another dressed in armour with tridents in their hands ; another armed with bows with gilt quivers suspended round their necks ; another of specially powerful men wearing on their heads the spire-shaped Siamese hat ; and another standing in line with guns and pouches. There was also a motley crowd resting on their knees, dressed in gorgeous clothes, with their heads wrapped in cloths of various hues ; this consisted of Paṭṭáni, Moors, Waḍiga, Mukkara, men of Delhi, Malacca, and Java, Kávisi, Chinese, Paraṇgis, Hollanders, Sannásis, Yógís, English, French, Castilians, Danes, men from Surat, Ava, and Pegu, representing every race. Within the great gate on either side were two platforms on which stood two palmirahs and

two cannon made of the five kinds of metals; round these rested a band of fighting men armed with clubs. The palace gate, the hall in which the sub-king and the nobles were assembled, the doors, windows, and bars were all decorated in great profusion; the former were crowned with gilt spires, flowers, and wreaths. In the midst of all stood the king's palace of five stages, similarly adorned with gilt spires. At the four corners were four towers five stories high, pierced with many windows and lattice work. There were also many halls decorated with much gilding and built in two stages. The palace of the prince and the three palaces of the queens were similar in appearance. This magnificent pile is erected on the river wall, which commences at the river and encircles the whole city. The great gate is at the landing-place; the rampart starts from here and runs to the right; then it sweeps round in a circle encompassing the whole city, till it finally meets the river again. Within the city there are canals running in parallel lines like the leaves of an *indi* branch. It is impossible to give any conception of the number of boats and passengers on these. Who will venture to say in what language the traffic on the great river can be described? There were also numberless streets thronged with people, full of shops displaying every kind of merchandise including images of gold. So far I have only attempted to describe the inner city just as I saw it.

As we were directed to return to our halting-place, two officers accompanied us back, first in carriages and then in boats.

Seven days later on Friday, being full moon, two officers came and informed us that the king had given orders for us to go and worship at two viháras on this day. We accordingly proceeded in boats and worshipped at the viháré called Vat Puthi Suwan. The following is a description of the place. On the right of the great river there stretches a plain right up to the river bank; here are built long ranges of two-storied halls in the form of a square, with four gateways on the four sides; on the four walls were placed two hundred gilt images. Within the eastern gate is fashioned a likeness of the sacred footprint, with the auspicious symbol worked in gold. Right in the centre is a great gilt dágaba with four gates. On entering by the eastern gate there is found a flight of stone steps gilt; right in the womb of the dágaba are enshrined the holy relics; and it was so built that it was possible to walk round within the dágaba without approaching them. There was also within a gilt reproduction of the Sacred Foot. On either side of this gate were built two five-headed Nága Rájas apparently descending to the bank of earth. To the north of this was a two-storied building with a throne in the middle of it; on this was seated a gilt figure of the Buddha twelve cubits high. To the east of this and facing it was a five-storied building hung with awnings and adorned with paintings and gilding; the pillars in the middle were covered with plates of gold, and on a throne in the centre was a life-size image of gold supported on either side by two similar gilt images of the two chief disciples Sariyut Mahasámi and Maha Mugalan Sámi and numerous others. Above the gateway from the roof to the lintel there was pictured in gilt work Buddha in the Sakra world, seated on the White Throne and preaching his glorious *Abhidharma* to the god Mavu Déva and to the gods and Brahmas of unnumbered worlds; and again, when his discourse was ended, he is depicted as descending by the golden stairs to Sakaspura. The viháré itself is strongly guarded by walls and gates; round about are built pleasant halls and priests'

houses filled with the holy men, with worshippers of high rank and devotees of either sex.

From this place we proceeded to worship at the Pallaṇkara Áráma Viháré, the description of which is as follows.—The building is of three stages, built on a piece of level land by the bank of the river. Along the four walls were ranged various images of the Buddha and of Rahats as well as of gods and Brahmas, in diverse colours and adorned with gilding. In the middle was a glittering image of the Buddha life-size and seated on a throne, supported on either side by images of Sariyut and Maha Mugalan, all profusely adorned with gold. Facing this were two two-storied halls; round about were gilt dágabas; the very gateways were gilt, and the place was one labyrinth of preaching- and living-halls, thronged with priests, pious men, and devotees. After worshipping here we were taken back to our halting-place.

On the twenty-first day of the solar month Kanya, being Sunday, three officers came in the morning and accompanied us in boats to the viháré called Maha Dhanvarama, in the district named Na pu than, that we might make offerings there to the Buddha and acquire merit, and also see the beauties of the place; and this is what we saw there. The place was a fertile stretch of level land enclosed by four walls, outside which ran four canals. From the water-course to the east up to the gate there was a long covered passage of two stages. On entering at the gateway we saw on the four sides eight holy dágabas, so covered with gilding that they resembled masses of *kinihiriya* flowers. In the intervals were various images. Among them at the four sides were four buildings of two stages against the inner walls of which, and rising to the roof were large gilt images of the Buddha. Within the space enclosed by these were four handsome gilt dágabas with images interspersed. In the very centre of all was a dágaba richly adorned, with doors on the four sides fitted with stairs, up and down which we could ascend and descend. At the four corners of the square base of the spire were four dragons with wings outstretched and meeting above; in the four panels were four images of gods adorned with all the divine ornaments, as well as images of the gods who preside at the four points of the compass, with their hands clasped overhead. In the intervals were images of door-guardians armed with swords, of rákshas with clubs and of bairayás with staves, while above the circular base of the spire were depicted in solid gold the sacred halo. On either side of the stair leading from the eastern gate ran two snakes, their bodies the size of palmirah palms; where they reached the ground their hoods were raised and resting on slabs of crystal; their open jaws and projecting fangs filled the hearts of those who saw them with terror. Starting from here there were ranged round the dágaba images of lions, bears, swans, peacocks, kinduras, deer, oxen, wolves, buffaloes, makaras, and door-guardians armed with swords. Also, carrying palm fans, chámaras, *sésat*, triumphal chanks, and various offerings, with their hands clasped above their heads, were numerous images of Brahmas, Sakras, and the Suyama gods, all adorned with gold. In the hall to the east, with its eyes fixed on the dágaba, was an image of the Buddha supported on either side by images of the two great disciples with their hands clasped above their heads. Also there was another image of the lord as he was in life, begging for food with his bowl in his sacred hand. In another building, which was reached by a flight of steps, were various images of the Buddha and

two figures of the Sacred Footprint with the auspicious symbols in gold. In a similar hall to the west were three images. Here was depicted in gold our lord reposing in lion fashion in his scented room, whilst Anada Mahasámi is approaching holding in his right hand a golden candlestick.

On the four walls was depicted the Vessantara birth-story, and next his birth in the Thusita heaven, whence again he was begotten of King Suddhódana in the womb of Queen Mahamáyá and was brought forth into the arms of gods, after which he made his Great Renunciation, and on his gleaming throne under the sacred Bó attained Buddhahood ; and, seated on the White Throne of Ṣakrayá, he preached his *Abhidharma* to the gods, and after receiving the offerings of the gods and Brahmas he descended by the divine stair to the Ṣákya city ;—all this was pictured in gilt.

Outside the great wall of the viháré were several preaching-halls ; to the west of this was the residence of the Sañga Rája. The dining- and preaching-halls were adorned in diverse fashions with gilding. One room was hung with awnings and curtains embroidered with gold, whilst the floor was covered with various precious carpets. There were vases arranged in rows filled with flowers, whilst above were hung circular lamps. On two thrones on either side were placed two priestly fans : the handles of these were made of elephants' tusks, the ivory of which was sawn very fine like the leaves of the *kus-kus*, and woven with red velvet and thin strips of gold and silver like rushes to form the leaf of the fan. Two holy priests stood on either side making obeisance to where the Sañga Rája was. Behind a curtain curiously embroidered with gold was a throne on which the Sañga Rája himself was seated. His face was screened by a fan of golden-hued bird's plumes which he held in his right hand. We were led in at his command to make our obeisance to him and to acquire merit. After we had made suitable offerings to him we were served with betel and arecanut, and were graciously praised by him for the faithful devotion to the Triple Gem which had brought us on this toilsome but blessed voyage across the dangerous sea. He was also pleased to say that priests would be sent to accompany us back to Lanká.

Surrounding this spot were several houses occupied by a vast number of priests and Sámanéras, devotees of either sex who observe *dasa sil*, as well as a crowd of pious and courtly folk who provided daily offerings.

After all this we were taken back to our halting-place in the evening. Eight days later, being Monday the eighth day of the waning moon, two officers came and accompanied us to a viháré which was full of priests' houses. Here we saw a building of three stages the tiles on the roof of which were gilt and appeared as a mass of *kinihiriya* flowers. In front of this were two golden dágabas. Having made our obeisance to these, we rested a short time in a hall here ; after which we were invited to a two-storied hall where we were received with every mark of respect by the second sub-king and several Ministers of State, and were entertained with our attendants at a feast and subsequently with betel and arecanut. Then several dancers in various gold-worked costumes were brought in to sing and dance before us ; after which we were taken back to our resting place.

On the morning of the next day two officers came from the palace and took us on horseback to the town. We arrived at a street one side of which was occupied by two-storied buildings and variously gilt

elephant stalls : on the other side were similar horse stables. It is impossible to give the number of horses and elephants, male and female, that were here : the street was entirely occupied by the stables and stalls, and there was no dwelling-house at all. We rested in a hall on the side where the horse stables were.

As the Was season was now drawing to a close a *Chivara Katina Pújá* had been ordered by the king for this day at the great viháré of Kujayoth Ratnaráma. In this viháré are a multitude of gilt images of the Buddha and a host of priests and Sámanéras. We saw the procession ; and this was the manner of it.

First there came, mounted on caparisoned elephants, a body of men with gaily-worked flags, richly dressed with Siamese hats of white resembling silver *karaṅḍu* on their heads, and swords by their sides ; a similar band mounted on horses followed ; next came in succession a host with swords in gilt scabbards ; another with gilt bows, their quivers slung over their necks ; another similarly armed, with guns on their shoulders and powder pouches at their sides ; another band similarly dressed with various kinds of arms ; then a band carrying *dhajas* and *patákas* on gilt staves ; a band of powerful men with gilt clubs ; another with swords in scabbards worked with silver ; another with swords ; a similar band with instruments of music—trumpets, horns, fifes, lutes, drums large and small, all playing together. Along with these were two richly caparisoned elephants with chámaras hung behind their ears and on their backs howdahs ; within each was a Minister of State seated, holding in his two hands a gold salver on which were placed robes of the finest yellow silk : above were held gold-worked flags, *sésat*, and spears, two of each, while on the two sides walked two female elephants carrying three men each. The officer who came next in similar fashion carried the priestly necessaries on a gold salver. A number of beautiful boys followed on a female-elephant covered with gold-worked cloths : these carried the gilt swords, betel trays, chains, pendants, and gold bracelets of these two officers.

Next came a large crowd on foot armed with swords and the five kinds of weapons carrying flags and umbrellas, followed by a tusked elephant almost hidden under its gilt trappings, the gaps being covered with button flowers, marigolds, *dunuké*, *weṭaké*, *sapu*, the white and red lotus, and water lilies, carrying in its howdah a Minister of State who bore a set of robes and the priestly necessaries : on either side rode two officers accompanied by seven men carrying *sésat* spears and flags. The minister's attendant boys, variously dressed, followed carrying his sword and spear and other ornaments. After that another throng as before.

[The writer next proceeds to describe five other ministers who followed in similar state.]

Next, walking four abreast and carrying gold-worked flags, came a band of men holding four strings so that their order might not be disturbed. Then came a row of elephants with and without tusks, male and female, with trappings of unheard-of splendour, carrying sets of robes and the priestly necessaries and all manner of offerings. Next came two great Officers of State employed in the inner palace, with the Master of the Chariots, the Custodian of the Sword of State, two Keepers of the Crown Jewels, two Officers of the Royal Betel Box, the two Chief Officers of the Treasury, two Admirals of the

Great Boats, two Masters of the Horse, two of the King's Physicians, two Officers who were in charge, the one of the stores of copper, brass, tin, timber, horns, ivory, white and red sandalwood, of the villages which produce them, and of the men employed in their service, the other of the royal rice and betel villages, and of their tenants,—all these came on elephants holding with both hands on golden trays their offerings of robes and other necessaries as described before, each accompanied by his vassals. Behind came a host of hundreds and thousands of devotees, male and female, carrying on their heads robes and offerings. Next came the two second Anu-Rájas, carried on the necks of stalwart men in two couch-shaped thrones with a balastrade of ivory, adorned with gold and rows of pearls, and set with magnificent gems; above their heads were carried ten *sésat*, and they were followed by a host armed with the five kinds of weapons. Next, in the first of two similarly adorned thrones, was borne on the shoulders of stout warriors the Great Officer of State to whose hands are entrusted all the affairs of Siam, and who is called the Úva Rajjuruvó. Above him were carried five *sésat*, and behind him was a band with umbrellas and swords. In the second throne was the second sub-king carried in similar state. Next came the great State Elephant; the whole of its body was the colour of copper, and it was covered with full trappings of gold; on each side of it were carried four *sésat* and four flags; eight trays of gold filled with peeled sugar-cane, ripe jak, and plantains were carried for its food; its attendants—elephants with and without tusks, male and female—followed; on them rode men carrying flags. A vast number of offerings to the Buddha were presented to the priests with the robes and priestly necessaries. The Siamese officers told us that by the royal command we too were to share in the merit acquired by this great *Kathina Pinkama*, and of all the other religious services which his illustrious majesty had ordained in his great devotion to the Triple Gem.

After this we were taken back to our halting-place.

This description is taken from the account given by Siddamparam Chetty, who was attached to us as interpreter, and who knew the details well; a considerable portion, both of what he related to us and what we personally saw, has been omitted to avoid the risk of appearing to relate the incredible.*

On the night of Tuesday, about fourteen hours before dawn, two noblemen came from the palace and informed us that a religious torch procession was coming down the river for us to see; and this is the description of it. Tall bamboos were set up at the viháras on either bank of the river of Siam; these were bent down, and on them were hung gilt circular lamps and lamps of various other kinds. The king himself, his son the prince, the second king, and the Úva Rajjuruvó came in the gilt royal barges, on which were erected alcoves with curtains and awnings of various coloured cloths; these boats were fitted with gold and silver stands holding lighted candles of wax and sweet-scented oils; a host of noblemen followed in

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* *Addendum.*—As a discussion was raised on this statement I add the literal translation of the passage kindly supplied to me by Mr. W. P. Ranesinghe:

"Although we wrote them, many things were omitted from what was related to us and from what we saw, which seemed to be incredible."—P.E.P.

similarly illuminated boats. There were also lamps made of red and white paper shaped like lotus flowers, with wax candles fixed in their cups; myriads of these beyond all counting were floating down the river. Fireworks of various devices were also cast into the water; these would travel underneath for some time and then burst into tongues of flame in all directions, with an explosion as of a jingal; the whole surface of the water appeared paved with fire. There were also dancers in gilt clothes in boats, singing and dancing to the music of drums.

Next, the priests residing within the city and in the viháras on either bank of the river were presented with offerings, with robes, and the priestly necessaries, the boats which carried them forming an unbroken procession.

This solemnity was observed on the thirteenth day of the increasing moon of the month Binara, on the full-moon day, on the first, seventh, and eighth days of the waning moon, and on the new moon, when the Was season came to a close. It was explained to us that this festival has been observed from time immemorial by the pious sovereigns of Ayódhyapura year after year in honour of the sacred footprint, the relics of the Buddha, and of that other footprint which at the prayer of the Nága king the Lord had in his lifetime imprinted on the sands of the river Nerbudda. On the afternoon of Wednesday two officers brought us in boats everything that was required for a similar offering, with a message from the king that we too should celebrate such an offering with our own hands. We accordingly went with them and lit lamps which were floated down the stream, and burnt fireworks; similar ceremonies were performed by us the following Thursday and Friday.

On the seventh day of the solar month Thulá, being Wednesday, in the morning, two officers came and accompanied us in boats to near the palace of the Úva Rajjuruvó. There, in a two-staged octagonal hall hung with cloths of diverse kinds, among gorgeous gold-worked carpets stretched on the floor, was the sub-king himself seated on a marvellously wrought royal throne. Beautifully engraved swords of solid gold, trays and boxes of gold and silver, and various royal ornaments were placed on either side: there was a golden curtain drawn, and on this side of it the great ministers were on their knees making obeisance. Here we were ushered in and introduced. The sub-king inquired after our welfare, and betel was handed round on trays. We were then shown some books that were not to be found in Laṇká at the time. We gazed at them in reverence, bowing our heads before the holy paper, and were graciously informed that these books and the priests would be given to us. Next a great feast of rice was served for us and our attendants, after which we received permission to withdraw.

On the eleventh day of the solar month Thula, being Sunday, three officers came from the palace in the morning and informed us that they had received orders to accompany us to worship the Sacred Footprint at the spot known as Swarna Panchatha Maha Pahath. We accordingly proceeded up the river in boats, admiring the various viháras, gilt dágabas, priests' houses, villages, fields, gardens of jak, cocoanut, arecanuts, sugar-cane, and plantain, situated on either bank. We travelled a whole day and night, and at dawn on Monday we mounted on some female-elephants carrying gilt howdahs and proceeded accompanied by our attendants similarly mounted. By evening we arrived within sight

of the pinnacle of the gilt dágaba erected on this sacred site, when we hastened down from our elephants and proceeded two miles on foot, resting in a hermit's cell in the neighbourhood of this august spot. The next day being Tuesday, the eight day of the lunar month, we offered worship at the holy shrine. The following is a description of it. From the river of Siam to this place was a continuous line of viháras, halls, villages, fields, and gardens ; at intervals were large parks adorned with tanks and lakes and with shady groves of mangoes ; among these could be procured food and drink and sweet things to help the traveller on his way. Where the road came to an end a great range of mountains rose on the right ; this was formed by Sachcha Bandhana Parvata and the caves where the hermits live. At their prayer the Sacred Foot had been imprinted as if it were in a mass of soft clay to the depth of about four inches right up to the ankle, showing the 216 auspicious signs, with the five toes separately marked. Enclosing this to the breadth of about a span were three rows of petals of pure gold, the inner rim set with priceless gems, the whole being covered with seven curtains curiously worked with gold. In the middle of the square structure were stone steps facing in every direction, and covered over with plates of silver so that the joining could not be seen. Above the sacred footstep and made of solid gold was a pagoda supported on suitable pillars, forming a shrine. At the four corners were placed four golden *sésat*, and from above hung four bunches of precious stones like bunches of ripe arecanuts in size. On the edge of the roof hung ropes of pearls, and on the point of the spire was set a sapphire the size of a lime fruit. Within and overshadowing the footprint like a canopy, there hung from the middle of the spire a full-blown lôtus of gold, in the middle of which was set a ruby of similar size. Chariots, ships, elephants, and horses with their riders, all made of gold, and of a suitable size, where placed on a golden support above the silver pavement. This was slung on wires of gold, to which were attached ornaments set with pearls the size of the *nelli* fruit, as well as other jewelled ornaments, rings, and chains. By some skilful device all this could be moved along the silver pavement. There were rows of vases with lotus, water-lilies, *sapu*, *dunuké*, *idda*, *soukenda*, and jasmine flowers, as well as flowering plants. Above this shrine, which rivalled in its blaze of splendour the abode of the gods, and four-square with it, was a structure of eleven stages. Its pavement was of silver, while the four walls were adorned with gilding and various paintings ; the ceiling was also gilt, and above the shrine and at the four corners were hung up five large gilt *sésat*. In the intervals were large full-blown lotus flowers with sapphires, the size of lime fruits, set in their hearts. From the corners hung a network of pearls, while five bunches of various gems the size of large ripe arecanuts hung at the corners and the middle. Within, against the western wall, was raised a large gilt throne on which rested a gilt facsimile of the sacred footprint. Two doors faced the south and north ; the doors and the doorposts were covered over with plates of gold ; the former were in panels, the first adorned with the figure of a Bramah carrying a *sésat*, the second of a Ṣakrayá blowing a conch, the third of a Suyam deity with a chámara, the fourth of a Santhusita god with a jewelled fan,—all with their hands clasped above their heads in adoration. Above the door were hung two golden curtains.

At intervals on the outer face of the walls were square openings set with glass, in which were arranged figures of lions, bears, elephants,

horses, cattle, makarayas, dragons, swans, serpents, and kinduras, &c., plated with gold. The columns of the verandah outside and the tiles on the roof were gilt, and the floor covered with sheets of white lead. The various stages were separated by short walls supported at the corners by figures of the Sataravaran deities armed with swords, while those of other gods and Brahmas carrying offerings and the five kinds of lotus occupied the gaps. The spires terminating the roof were adorned with gilt five-headed snakes and dragons plated with gold lifting up their great hoods on high, while along the edges of the roof heads of snakes and dragons plated with gold were arranged alternately; in the intervals were figures of swans, peacocks, parrots, doves, pigeons, and other birds, all gilt and carrying lotus-flowers in their beaks, in such profusion as almost to hide the gilt tiles. On the walls were also gilt images of kinduras and nágas blowing horns.

All the eleven stages were similarly gilt, and on the extreme point of the central spire was fixed a gem the size of an orange. The wall surrounding this was of various kind of alabaster; at the four corners and at the sides of the four gates were fixed twelve large lamps of alabaster shaped like *karaṇdu*, while 380 smaller ones adorned the walls. There were also fixed round about figures of elephants, horses, lions, bears, crocodiles, snakes, makaras, and deer, all of the same material and in due proportion; these served as lamps, the lights being placed inside them. There were also here and there figures of yakshas, rákshas, and bhairayás, serving as door-guardians at the eight points.

Lower down the mountain was a cave, in which was a gilt image of the Sachcha Bandhana hermit. Close by the flight of stone steps on the north side stood two large stone pillars on which were fixed stout iron rods; to these were secured a pole of the size of a large arecanut tree cased in copper and gilt, supporting an umbrella also of copper gilt. At the north and south gates down either side the stone steps ran two snakes with bodies like large palmirah trees made of white lead; where they reached the ground their huge five-fold hoods made of bronze are raised aloft with such a fierce aspect as would strike terror in any beholder.

Encircling this spot and outside the walls there was a large number of *sésat* of various coloured cloths: lower down and towards the rising sun was a gilt dágaba with relics of the Buddha; on its spire was designed in gilt the six-hued halo of the lord blazing forth. To the west, on the top of the mountain where he had alighted from the sky, was another similar dágaba: around it were several images as well as a *poya-gé*, a preaching-hall, a life-sized statue of the Buddha, two viháras containing many images, and a large dining-hall on the walls of which were illustrated incidents at the impressing of the Sacred Foot. There was also a tank of lead filled with cool water. Lower down again in a large cave to the south-east were three more gilt dágabas.

Such was this marvellous place: none but the architect of the gods himself could have designed it.

There were two gates, carefully secured with keys and bolts and watched by guards who were appointed according to the various watches. Here and there among the caves were seats fashioned for meditation. On all sides were priests' houses of two and three stages, adorned with gilding; these were crowded with holy priests and Sámanéras, and pious devotees of either sex, while numerous tanks and wells of cool water adorned the spot.

After performing our religious exercises at this holy place on the morning of Tuesday, which was the first quarter of the moon, the Siamese officers informed us that there were several other sites to be visited, and accompanied us a distance of about 1½ *gaw;* here we worshipped at the innumerable images we found at the viháras and caves. One of the latter wound about in three directions and contained many images; but the darkness was so intense that we were obliged to conduct our worship by torchlight. The caves and viháras here were to be counted by the thousand; gilt dágabas crowned the summits of the mountains. At all these we worshipped and did our obeisance to the holy priests who had retired to live among them. Wherever we turned, as far as the eye could reach, on every level rock and cave, there appeared a gilt dágaba or an image; and towards all these we worshipped.

Round about were streams and mountain torrents of cool water and tanks and lakes with the banks carefully built up with stone and mortar. Among these we wandered, resting in delight beneath the shadow of the lofty trees, till we had made a circuit of this holy spot. We celebrated worship again this night and listened in the preaching-hall to a learned priest well versed in the *Dharmma*, who discoursed from the commentaries on the lives of the great disciples of the Lord. The next day we worshipped again both morning and evening, and also again on Friday morning; after which we bid farewell to the Great High Priests and the other priests who abode here, and immediately began the descent, accompanied by the Siamese officers. When we had left the sacred precincts behind we mounted our elephants and proceeded till we reached the river, where we joined the boats. We travelled all through the night, and about eight peyas before dawn on Saturday we reached our halting-place.

On Monday morning three officers took us in boats up the river till we came to a vast stretch of fields. Here in innumerable running streams of cool water were growing the five kinds of lotus,—*ẹmbul*, *upul*, *olu*, *nelun*, and *maha nel:* encircled by these were three or four thousand amunams of fields and gardens, among which we wandered till sunset. The grain was in every stage; the young shoot, the ripening ear, the flower, the tender corn, and some already mown. At last, when we had reached one of its boundaries, we were told in reply to our inquiries that this stretch of fields extended as far as the city of Ava. We then made our way by a cross road across the fields to the river and rowed over to the western bank.

Thirteen fathoms further on was a spot where long ago a series of the kings of Siam had erected a three-storied temple with a great throne on which was placed a recumbent statue of the Buddha, with relics, as well as a standing figure; but the river had burst the embankments, and the flood-water had reached within two fathoms of the temple gate.

And so it came to pass that when his present majesty visited the spot in the twenty-fifth year of his anointing as king, he was greatly distressed; and exerting his royal zeal he had the image safely carried by his strong men with the help of various engines a distance of 80 fathoms to a spot where he had erected a new resting-place for its repose. Over this he also built a temple of three stages, which was adorned with gilding, and from the gate to the river over the 80 fathoms that the image had been carried he erected a covered passage of one stage. He also built a preaching-hall and a new viháré, and

set up various other images, after which he celebrated a great pinkama. All this was told us by the Siamese officers.

After worshipping at this place and paying our respects to the priests we started down the river, admiring the numerous viháras and priests' houses on either bank and the villages with their teeming population; arriving at our resting-place in the evening.

On Tuesday evening three officers came from the palace with a large supply of robes and priestly necessaries, and informed us that his majesty was most favourably disposed towards us: and, in order that he too might share in the merit which we had acquired by our pilgrimage to the Sacred Footstep, had ordered a quantity of the coins called *ticcal* to be distributed among us: he also sent us much eatables and drinkables, with fruit, betel, and arecanut, lime, &c. We were directed to offer the robes ourselves to the priests, and so acquire merit. Accordingly we proceeded in boats to the viháré called Wat Nun Ok, and worshipped the golden Buddhas there, and offered the robes to the Chief Priest and three others who resided here, and acquired merit by making our obeisance to them, and afterwards returned home.

On the twenty-ninth day of the month Tula, being Thursday, two officers came in the morning and proceeded with us in boats till we reached the street, where we entered horse carriages. We alighted when we approached the palace and waited in a *maṇḍapé* till our arrival was announced, after which we were led to the hall of the sub-king. Here we were received by the king, the prince, and the sub-king, with the greatest kindness, and presents were also bestowed on us, the Árachchies, and our attendants; and we were shown the presents destined for Laṅká. We were also informed we would receive permission in a few days to start home, after which we returned accompanied by the officers.

On Monday, the fourth day of the solar month Vṛishchika, two officers came and accompanied us in boats to the great viháré called Talarama, which is built on the bank of the river. Here we worshipped before the golden image of the Buddha and the dágabas, and made offerings of robes and the priestly necessaries to the priests who had been appointed to proceed to Ceylon. These were Upáli Mahá Náyaka Théró, Árya Muni Mahá Náyaka Théró, the Anu Mahá Théró, the Mahá Thérós who read the *Kammavacha* and who prepare for ordi nation, and the Mahá Thérós Indrajótassá, Chandra Jótassa, Kotthita, Kiyavu, Bojuna, Thuluvan, Thonsuvannana, Janna, Prakyavuthan, Lokon, Dabut, Premak, Premi, Kruvakya, being twenty-one Thérós and eight Sámanéras. After this we were taken back to our halting-place.

On the morning of Thursday two officers came and took us to the palace. We halted for a short time at a *maṇḍapé* while our arrival was being announced; after which we were presented and received with great kindness by his majesty the king, the prince, and the sub-king. We were informed that the presents destined for Ceylon would be ready to start in a short time, and then were given permission to withdraw, when we returned again to the same *maṇḍapé* for a short interval. And this was the manner of our departure therefrom. From the palace gate and as far as the landing-place at the river bank the two sides of the street were decorated with cloths embroidered with gold, various scented flowers and fruits, and examples of the painter's skill. Next, heralded by the five kinds of music, came the royal message carried in a gold litter on either side of which were held gold-worked *sésat* and flags. A new golden image of Buddha came next, borne in like fashion and accompanied by *sésat*, *chámaras*,

gold-worked flags, and music. The sacred books and various offerings followed, guarded on either side by a band of warriors armed with the five kinds of weapons. Upáli Mahá Théró came next, carried in a palanquin curiously worked with gold, and followed by many offerings; next was Árya Muni Mahá Théró in similar state. These two were accompanied by the other Thérós and Sámanéras destined for Laŋká, all of whom had been presented with various gifts; a band of warriors followed them, preceding the presents that were to be sent to Laŋká which were conveyed in gilt chests. Three officers had been appointed to proceed to Laŋká as ambassadors, and numerous honours had been conferred on them. Two of them came next in two litters shaped like beds and richly adorned with ornaments of solid gold. These were carried on the shoulders of men, while the third rode behind on a richly caparisoned horse. We, who had been gazing at this rare sight with delight, were now directed to enter the horse carriages in which we joined the procession. The gorgeous decorations on either side of the road, the viháras and crowds of priests, the masses of men, women, and children gay in jewels and gold, who thronged to gaze at us, cannot be described in words. We proceeded thus as far as the river, lost in admiration at the splendour of the crowded street. Here we found awaiting us the royal barges, decked with the heads of lions, bears, elephants, kinduras, makaras, crocodiles, serpents, buffaloes, deer, peacocks, parrots, pigeons, dragons, and rákshas; whilst in the intervals were carved trees, creepers, and plants, all gilt. On their decks were constructed booths of gold-worked cloths gaily adorned, and similar curtains were hung around, while various flags and umbrellas were fixed at stem and stern. On board these barges were conveyed the image and books and royal message as well as the priests. The king, the royal queens, the sub-king, the prince, as well as the nobles with their wives, accompanied us in similar boats; after them came a host of devotees of either sex and of citizens in boats in an unbroken stream, the boats being secured in rows by cables so as to move in line. In various boats dancing and singing were going on, while numerous drums kept up a continuous volume of sound. Thus we proceeded down the river till we reached the large new ship, which with its gilding within and without appeared like some ship of the gods. This was the vessel destined by his majesty for the use of the priests who were sailing for Laŋká. So on Thursday, the first day of the increasing moon of the month Il, about ten hours after dawn, the sub-king bore the golden image reverently on his own head within the ship, and placed it on a throne surrounded by gold embroidered hangings of various colours: the holy books and the king's message were similarly disposed of, and the presents and offerings were stowed away. The priests were then taken on board amidst cries of "*Sádhu*" and the firing of guns and the accompaniment of music, and were followed by the three Siamese ambassadors who were proceeding to Laŋká accompanied by many presents. A message was also conveyed to us from the king, giving us permission to depart and also directing that Wilbágedara Muhandiram Rála alone, who was well known to the Thérós and ambassadors—he had been to Siam on a previous occasion—should travel in the Siamese ship. The rest of us were also requested to go on board the ship; but as the number of the Siamese attendants and the quantity of their baggage was great, we were to

continue our journey by the Hollander's ship. Three Siamese nobles were also ordered to accompany us as far as the seaport of Siam.

Accordingly we started in great state, and as we proceeded down the river the priests who lived in the viháras on the banks, with the chief men of the villages and the people themselves crowded round in boats so that the river could not be seen, bringing with them presents for the priests who were starting for Laṇká. We arrived in this manner at the temple called Wat Thon Lak Dhan, where the chief people provided presents and robes to be offered by us to the priests accompanying us so as to acquire merit; while at the same time we were entertained at a feast.

When we drew near Bangkok we were similarly received and treated; the same occurred at Amsterdam, where we arrived next; at last on the afternoon of Friday, the fourteenth day of the solar month Vṛischika, being the eighth day of the increasing half of the lunar month, we reached the harbour of Siam. Immediately the four of us who were to travel by the Hollander's ship proceeded on board with our attendants, and the two ships anchored side by side, while the luggage meant for the Siamese ship was taken there; where too Wilbágedara Muhandiram proceeded with one servant and an attendant soldier. On Wednesday the fourth day of the solar month Dhanu, at the twenty-third hour of the morning, the two ships hoisted sail, and we steered out of the harbour, the Siamese ship leading. On Thursday this latter disappeared from our sight, and though we were greatly disturbed in mind about her, we sailed on till on the afternoon of Monday, the twenty-third day of the solar month, we reached the harbour of Malacca and cast anchor.

Six days later, on Saturday morning, three officers came from the fort and took us on land in a sloop, where we were conducted with much ceremony to our halting-place. Later we were taken inside the fort, where the Governor and other officers exerted themselves to allay our anxiety and assured us that the ship would arrive in safety. They also fitted out a sloop to go and make inquiries, and sent despatches regarding the matter to Batavia in a ship. But though we questioned the captains of all the vessels that came from foreign parts, we could obtain no information whatever; accordingly we resolved to wait till we did get some definite news. We waited on till the next year, which was the Ṣaka year 1674, till on the thirteenth day of the solar month Vṛisabha, the captain of a newly-arrived ship came to our halting-place and informed us that the Siamese ship had lost her masts and could not proceed on her voyage, and had consequently been towed back by several boats to Siam itself.

As we heard that a sloop trading with Siam was lying idle in the harbour, we consulted the Governor and started her captain off with a letter. We waited till Saturday the tenth day of the solar month Dhanu, when the Governor sent us by an officer from the fort a letter which Wilbágedara Muhandiram Rála had forwarded. The purport of this letter was that His Majesty the King of Siam had graciously bidden them when taken before him not to be disheartened at their mischance; the priests destined for Laṇká, the presents, and the three Siamese ambassadors would start again in the month of Wak from the district of Mirigiya, and reach Laṇká this year itself; the ambassadors who were waiting at Malacca should accordingly be directed to start home; in obedience to which command this letter was written.

We accordingly went on board on the thirteenth day of the solar month, being Friday, and on Saturday we steered out of the harbour, and on the evening of the fifteenth day of the solar month Makara, being Monday, we landed at the Castle of Colombo. The Governor received us with great consideration and arranged quarters for us near the church at Borella, where we remained for twenty-eight days. In the meantime he sent two Mudaliyárs with a letter to Siriwardhanapura; these went and delivered their message before the great nobles there, who conveyed the same to the knowledge of his gracious majesty, when the Mudaliyárs received great rewards. Moreover he gave orders for the Padikára Mohoṭṭála, Dedigama Muhandiram Rála, and Pussella Muhandiram Rála to proceed to Colombo and accompany the newly-landed nobles back. They accordingly came to Colombo and delivered their message to the Governor, who received them with every mark of honour and accompanied them from the castle. Six days later, on the eighth day of the solar month Kumbha, which is the fourteenth day of the waning moon of the month Navam, we arrived at the capital and were presented before our gracious and ever-victorious king. We were received with great kindness, and were anxiously questioned as to whether the priests were actually coming.

On the tenth day of the solar month Vrischchika messengers arrived with the news that the ship conveying the Siamese priests had cast anchor at the harbour of Trincomalee on Monday the fifth day of the increasing moon of the month Wesak, in the Ṣaka year 1675,* which is called Ṣrímukha. No sooner was this glorious message received than our gracious king, the mighty ruler of Laṇká, gave orders that palanquins fitted with cushions and mattresses should be despatched, as well as a supply of robes of fine cloth, with sweetmeats and rice cakes to help them on the way. He also sent elephants to head the procession and a richly caparisoned tusker with a golden litter for conveying the king's message, with a body of trumpeters, drummers, and other musicians. The following were entrusted with this work, viz., Ehelapola, Maha Adikárama; Angammana, Dissavé of Mátalé; Hulangamuwa, Dissavé of Uḍa Paláta; Ellépola Kahande Mohoṭṭála, the Koḍituwakku Lékama; Ellépola Mohoṭṭála, the Veḍikkára Lékama; Kahande Mohoṭṭála, the Kuruwé Lékama; Wiyalla Mohoṭṭála, Muhandiram, who was in charge of the *gabaḍá-gama* of Madulu; and Harasgama Muhandiram Rála, of the Veḍikkára Lékama. These accordingly started for the harbour and accompanied thence the priests, the three Siamese ambassadors, the king's letter, and the presents with every mark of honour. The letter was placed on the golden litter which was carried by the tusked elephant with jewelled trappings; the holy images and books were carried in state accompanied by flags and umbrellas; Upáli Maha Terunnánsé, with the seventeen other Thérós and seven Sámanéros, travelled in palanquins richly fitted with mats and pillows; while the Siamese ambassadors followed in *andorus*. So they proceeded, halting at Olagamuwa, Gantalé, Alutwewa, Minihiriya, Gónáwela, and Nálanda. On reaching Goḍapola nuwara five noblemen proceeded to meet them, viz., Dumbara Dissavé of Mátalé; Angammana Mohoṭṭála, the Maha Lékama; Moladanḍá, Raṭé Rála of Yatinuwara, Ellépola Kahandáwé Mohoṭṭála, the Paḍikára Lékama, and Wilbágedara Kuḍá Muhandiram Rála of the same Lékama.

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* A.D. 1753.

These went and made their obeisance to the priests and saw that they were properly lodged, and the image, the books, the royal letter and presents deposited in a place of safety; after this the ambassadors were also conducted to their lodgings with great ceremony. Later Ehelapola, Maha Adikárama, Hulangamuwa, Dissavé of Uda Paláta, and the aforesaid chiefs returned to the capital and had an audience with the king. A few days later Uduwela Muhandiram Rála and Aittaliyaddé Muhandiram Rála were sent to Godapolanuwara to inquire after the well-being of the priests and ambassadors, and to report the same to the king without delay. Later orders were given to Samarakodi, the Udagampaha Adigár, Dodanvela, Dissavé of Úva, and Miwaturé Mohottála, the Attapattu Lékama, to proceed to Godapolanuwara and escort thence the holy images, the books, the king's letter and presents, together with the priests, to the capital. This they did and accompanied them as far as Alutgantota, where they halted. The next day being Friday the seventh day of the waning half of the month Poson in the Saka year 1675, His Gracious Majesty himself, lord of the earth, who is resplendent with every virtue, proceeded to the Bódimaluwa by the side of the river. Here he made his obeisance to the priests and received them with all graciousness; and after *pirit* had been recited, they were brought in the evening to the Malwatté Viháré, where lodgings had been newly erected and adorned for them with all speed: here they were lodged, and orders were given to provide them with all necessaries. At the same time the Siamese ambassadors with the letter and presents were sent to the Bógambra Thánáyama, where every honour was paid to them and their wants attended to.

On the evening of the second day of the solar month Kataka, being Friday the thirteenth day of the lunar month, at the Malwatté Viháré, Upáli Maha Théró admitted one of the Sámanéros who had accompanied him from Siam into the *Upasampadáwa*. On the night of Saturday the full moon day of the month Esala, at the first watch, His Majesty, the lamp in the jewelled hall of the Solar race, took his seat in the preaching-hall filled with exultant joy and kindness, and at his request (which was addressed to Upáli Maha Théró, Árya Muni Maha Théró, and the other Thérós), Kobbyyakaduwé Unnánsé, the Náyaka Priest of the Upósatáráma, Weliwita Unnánsé, Hulangamuwa Unnánsé, Bambaradeniya Unnánsé, Thibbotuwawé Unnánsé, and Navinné, the Náyaka Unnánsé of Asgiriya, were admitted into the *Upasampadáwa*. And thus after many years this feast of the Great Ordination which had so long been neglected in Lanká, was re-established once more amidst the rejoicings of the populace, the triumphant noise of drums, chanks, and the five kinds of music, and the roar of cannon.

On the night of Tuesday the twentieth day of the solar month the Audience Hall was adorned with awnings and hangings of silk and gold embroideries. And here our mighty king, the lord of kings, seated on his throne, received with all graciousness the three Siamese ambassadors who brought the letter and presents from their king. They were at the same time presented with three chains and three gold rings, three embroidered *tuppatti*, three red and three yellow, an extra one being given to the ambassador who carried the king's letter: various presents were also given to the attendants, and three thousand *ridi* were distributed among them all. After this Upáli Mahásámi and the other Thérós who accompanied him were invited to worship

the Sacred Tooth and so acquire merit ; and subsequently the ambassadors were allowed to do likewise.

As for the king's letter, after the principal nobles had met in the Audience Hall, Weliwiṭa Terunnánsé caused it to be unwrapped by Tibboṭuwawa Terunnánsé : it was then wrapped up again, and sealed and deposited in the treasury, covering and all. As for the books that had been received, they were paraded round the streets with great pomp in a golden litter placed on the back of a tusker with jewelled trappings, accompanied by the five kinds of music, after which they were formally dedicated.

[Then follow the names of the priests, differing somewhat from the names already given.]

NOTES.

1.—Wilbágedara Muhandiram has recorded the names of the sixty-six persons who composed the mission ; they were—

- Pattépola Mohoṭṭála, three Árachchies and nine men (*hewáyó*) of his Lékama, and five personal attendants.
- Ellépola Mohoṭṭála, three Árachchies and seven men of his Lékama, and one attendant.
- Íriyagama Muhandiram, two Árachchies and five men of his Wasama, and one attendant.
- Aittaliyaddé Muhandiram, one Árachchi and three men of his Wasama, and one attendant.
- Wilbágedara Muhandiram, two Árachchies and three men of his Wasama, and two attendants—a *wahumpurayá* and a *durayá.*

In addition there were three trumpeters, three performers on the *tambóruwa*, five on the *singárama*, and two on the *horanéwa.*

2.—The message to the King of Siam was written in Páli by Veliwiṭa Saraṇaṅkára Unnánsé of Malwatté Viháré. There was also a second letter addressed to the Saṅga Rája.

3.—At Trincomalee the ambassadors were housed in the Commander's flower garden.

4.—The Dutch ship that conveyed them was named the "Vel Trek."

5.—In Sumatra, the writer tells us, gold, lead, and the whetstone are found.

6.—At Malacca the royal letter was deposited in a two-storied building attached to the Fiscal's residence.

7.—They started again in the month of Vesak, Ṣaka 1673 ; and sailed past Rio and Johore, where *ponambra* and *minambra* (ambergris ?) is found. "The robbers here," naively adds the writer, perhaps referring to the piratical Malays, "even slay people." Next they passed Pulu Timung, Pulu Piang, Pulu Hovu, mere rocky points in the sea, as well as Pahang, Kalantang, Tranganu, Patani, which latter produce gold, lead, and camphor ; some of them were reported to be inhabited by cannibals ; thence past Cambodjia to Siam.

8.—On reaching the harbour the captain and Kannédeniyé Árachchi of the Paḍikára Muhandiram Wasama were despatched to

announce at the Siamese capital the arrival of the embassy: twenty-four days later the rest landed.

9.—Amsterdam : the modern Paknam Samuddaprakar.—J.

10.—Mung : a district under a governor.—J.

11.—Wat Arama : the spot is the Wat Prode Satta, "the salvation of sentient beings. The ancient temple is still existing, and has been repaired by the late king's brother. There is a sacred well here, the water of which is supposed to wash away sins.—J.

12.—Bai : probably Ban (village); the name is Pa-sat, "the forest of animals."—J.

13.—Puri : in Siam a provincial town, and is not applied to the capital ; the old capital was Sri Ayodhaya Maha Nagara.—J.

14.—The money distributed among the Siṃhalese amounted to 700 ticcals.

Masam-puva : unknown ; not Siamese. *Ticcal* is the foreign name given to the Siamese coin of the largest denomination, called *Bat.* Coins of smaller denominations of the same round shape are *saliung anu fiang*, and *bia*, the last being only tokens.—J.

15.—The elephant in the gilt stall opposite the palace gate was the white elephant ; facing it was the black elephant : but the description given in the translated version would appear to relate to the red elephant. According to Baldæus, the King of Siam was styled "Lord of the Golden Thrones, also of the White, Red, and Round-tailed Elephants, three excellent draught beasts which the highest god has given to none other."

16.—The custom of drawing up the war elephants in circles in front of the palace also prevailed at the Siṃhalese court.

17.—After they had been granted an audience the members of the mission were entertained at a place named Maha Sombath Kalan ; the rooms were hung with awnings and curtains. Each ambassador was provided with three silver trays each (or each three ?) fitted with fifty-one small gold dishes, filled with various dainties forming the five courses of a feast.

18.—Vat Puthi Suwan : correctly *Wat Buddhaiy S'van* "Arama of the Heaven of Buddha" (s'van = *svarga*).—J.

19.—Maha Dharmáráma (?) : Neither Siamese nor Páli ; but there is a temple called Maha Dhátu, the principal one in the city : from the description and the fact that it was the seat of the Sañga Rája, the two are probably identical. In this temple was enshrined a solid gold image of great size, which was melted and carried away by the Burmese. A bronze one remains to this day in a state of decay.—J.

20.—Naputhan : or rather Na-pa-tan, "the paddy field of the burnt forest." The name is still in existence.—J.

21.—The offerings made to the Sañga Rája were :—

220 pieces of red and yellow silk	*Styli*
30 red fans	Toothpicks (metal)
30 strings of prayer beads	Nailpicks (metal)
30 packets of needles	Looking-glasses
Arecanut cutter	Cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon
Chunam boxes	Wax candles
Scissors	2 alms bowls
Razors	1 web of cloth

22.—The second sub-king must have been "The Palace of the Rear Guard" (great personages are called by the names of their residences), who is at the head of the Reserve Forces. But more probably it was one of the great ministers, to judge from the reception.—J.

23.—The Was season: the rainy season, when the priests retire from the forests into houses.

24.—Kujayoth Ratnaráma: probably Wat Jayawardhanaráma, one of the well-known and royal temples, now in ruins.—J.

25.—No Minister of State would be employed in carrying things even at a religious procession. These were probably minor officers dressed as Dévas.—J.

26.—No sub-kings are entrusted with affairs of State except of the War Department and in building defensive works in war time. The two great ministers are of the Interior and War, or of the North and South, having charge of the Government of the Northern and Southern Provinces respectively, and the latter of military affairs in time of peace as well.—J.

27.—This is really the "Light Offering," or *Padipa Púja* performed on water twice at the end of the Was season on the full moon of the eleventh and twelfth months, and is continued three days on each occasion. The middle day is the full moon, on which the people indulge in extravagance, in music, singing and playing on the water, and make offerings of floating lights and flowers and fireworks in miniature temporary boats and vessels of all sorts. It is in fact a popular *fête*.—J.

28.—Only three out of the five ambassadors, viz., Ellépola Mohoṭṭála, Aittaliyaddé Rála, and Wilbágedara, went on the pilgrimage to the Sacred Footprint: they were accompanied by seventeen of their *suite*, whose names are also stated.

On passing the first wall enclosing the sacred site the pilgrims knelt and worshipped with their foreheads touching the ground; then they passed the copper umbrellas with stocks three spans in circumference, and up the stone steps with the serpents on either side to the first stage; another flight of stone steps brought them to the second stage, which was sprinkled with sand. These stages appear to have run right round the mountain peak. The next flight was covered with lead, and led to the last stage, which was similarly covered. The imprint was of the right foot; it was enclosed in a building 14 carpenters' cubits square and 18 fathoms high; while the shrine over the imprint itself was 7 cubits high, raised on pillars of gold. Wilbágedara also testifies to the extraordinary expenditure of gold over the ornamentation of the temple.

Reference is made to this shrine by Baldæus, who also gives a list of the auspicious signs.

29.—The rock on which the footprint was discovered had been named "Suwanna banphot:" *Panchata* is evidently *pabbata*, and *maha pahatha* is *maha prasat*. *Prasat* is the corrupt Páli *prasáda*, a building of from one to nine stories with a dágaba-shaped top, like the Brazen Palace at Anurádhapura. The now existing building, called the *mandapé*, has replaced the original structure which was destroyed by lightning.—J.

30.—Native resthouses for pilgrims, which abound to this day.—J.

31.—Probably *Satapanna pabbata*, adapted from the name of the ancient cave in Rájagaha at which the first Buddhist Council took place.—J.

32.—The description of these stages seems to correspond to the usual basement of a *pasáda* building, which is always elaborately moulded in ornamental lines in stages with figures supporting them. —J.

33.—The offerings made at this shrine were—

1 gold pagoda (*varágan*)	2 cloth water strainers
53 rupees	1 betel bag
50 current ridis	60 wax candles
1 ticcal ridi	8 bundles incense sticks
2 coloured cloths worth 30 ridis	1 log sandalwood
11 rolls of fine cloth, 18 cubits long, 5½ spans wide, worth 175 ridis	9 alms-bowls
3 cloths, named Kaveniya, Samukkalama, and Sarasaya	Cloves (*wasawási*), nutmeg, cinnamon, camphor, cardamoms
2 lansolu cloths	Needles
1 silk tuppaṭiya	Ridis, *thuttus* and *cash*
	Flowers
	Lamps, &c.

34.—This is literally true even to the present day, for rivers and creeks are the highways of Siam and no household is without at least one boat.—J.

35.—*Lak :* a common name for a village temple, meaning pillar or post, probably referring to the mark set up when a site is selected for a a temple. *Dhan :* perhaps Siamese *Dán*, "the pillar of charity."—J.

36.—Wilbágedara has left us the following additional information. On Thursday the eighth day of the increasing moon of the month Uduwak, in the Ṣaka year 1674, about midnight, Paṭṭapola Aṭṭapattuwé Mohoṭtála died at Bangkok while the ambassadors were on their way home. The corpse was dressed in four cloths with an inner and outer vest and a "jaggalat thoppiya ;" a mattress was spread at the bottom of the coffin with pillows at head and foot, and the body laid on these, and the coffin closed. Over all a violet (*nilkarpu*) thuppatiya was cast as a pall and the coffin placed on the deck. The priests then recited *baṇa*, and after offerings had been made to them the coffin was lowered into the ship's boat, which sailed away under a salute of thirty-two guns. After sailing eight *gavvas* the coffin was landed at night and removed inside a house, while the twenty oarsmen were fed with rice bought at the spot. On Saturday at ten *péyas* after dawn it was placed within the preaching-hall of the Vat Pakanoth Viháré, when forty priests recited *bana*. Six hundred logs of wood were purchased, and the corpse cremated within apparently a crematorium.

A disgraceful incident followed: Nattabura Unnánsé, who had accompanied the writer on his first voyage to Siam and had then deserted, now appeared on the scene in an attempt to obtain for himself the property of the deceased Mohoṭṭála ; in fact, as the writer ruefully observes, he was robbed of a whole night's sleep by the importunities of this son of Belial, who was put off by a reference to the decision of the Court of Kandy. He then proceeded to the ship where the priests were, and demanded from them the offerings that had been made to them by the ambassadors : their refusal so exasperated him that he proceeded to strike the saintly Árya Múni Théró and a novice on their heads with a club. The alarmed priests refused point blank to proceed any further ; for, said they, if the men sent from Laṇká are such,

what would those who remain at home be like? However, Ellépola Mohoṭṭála had the miscreant arrested and handed over to the authorities on land, while the Siamese ambassadors succeded in pacifying the agitated priests; and they set sail.

A few days later the ship was discovered to have sprung a leak, and she began to fill so rapidly that they were obliged to cast their cargo overboard to keep her afloat; the priests however recited *bana* day and night without intermission, and with such effect that they succeeded the next day in driving her aground on a mud bank near the harbour of Muwang Lakon, a dependency of Siam, with all the crew and the king's presents safe. Here they landed and proceeded to the capital, a fortified town named Pataliputra; in the middle of it was a dágaba (as large as the Ruwanweli dágaba at Polonnaruwa) which had been built by King Dharmasóka to contain some relics of the Buddha. It was gilt from top to bottom, and the gilding was in such excellent preservation that the whole resembled a newly polished gold *karanḍuwa*. Three hundred statues and two hundred gilt dágabas, varying in height from 9 to 11 carpenters' cubits, encircled the central structure. There was also in the city a holy *bó*-tree which King Dharmasóka the Less had within recent times obtained from Anurádhapura. Every morning the priests of the various temples proceed to collect alms; three commissioners supervise the affairs of the clergy over all the Siamese dominions; and by their orders all, whether thereto induced by religious sentiment or not, have to contribute to the support of the priesthood and the maintenance of the edifices.

The country is rich in deposits of black and white lead (tin ?), rice, betel, arecanut, &c., but robbers are numerous and bloodthirsty, witchcraft abounds, and cancerous and leprous diseases are frequent.

From here the Siamese ambassadors sent a letter to their king to inform him of the misfortune that had overtaken them. This letter was sent by land in charge of ten people, who delivered it at the capital in a month and seven days. The king's order was that the ships should be repaired and taken back to Siam; which they accordingly proceeded to do, being hospitably received by all the magnates of the coast. For instance, two of them sent the following presents :—

15 durians	60 bundles betel
300 mangosteens	16 bunches arecanuts
100 mangoes	15 dried fish
7 jak	100 do. (small)
45 pineapples	60 duck eggs
10 plantain bunches	1 package limes
9 bunches tender cocoanuts	5 boxes of rice
70 cocoanuts	

At last, on Wednesday, the third day of the increasing moon of the month Esala, in the Ṣaka year 1674, they arrived at the Siamese capital a second time, and were received in audience by the king. He addressed himself most graciously to the writer, and bade him not to be disheartened at his misfortune, as the king had given orders that everything should be arranged for his return journey.

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* It is interesting to note that the word put into the king's mouth in addressing Wilbagedara is *tamá*.

Their return, however, was still to be delayed. One of the king's great ships with a valuable cargo, including elephants, was lost on a voyage to Sinnapattanam, only seven or eight of the crew escaping in a boat; moreover, four ships riding at anchor in the harbour were destroyed by a cyclone; and to crown all, the sub-king himself died shortly after. The king accordingly hesitated about sending the priests to Laṇká in such a year of disaster, and consulted Wilbágedara, who sent the following reply:—"I, too, am in great distress at the misfortunes that have occurred; but the uncertainty of the future, grief, and death are no new thing in our world of sorrow: therefore should you hasten to fructify your desire to spread the knowledge of the one thing that is certain, the preaching of the Lord." Further, he went on to add how in the days of old there were no Hollanders in the Island of Laṇká, but his majesty King Srí Rája Siṇha had sent his royal message and summoned them from across the sea to guard his coasts, for which purpose be had put them in charge of his forts, and they had since served him with all loyalty; and every year embassies come from diverse countries to the court of our king to solicit his friendship with costly presents.

Apparently the king was greatly impressed. He sent two courtiers to make further inquiries from Wilbágedara, who informed them that the States of Sinnapattanam, Madura, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Kilakkari, and Mysore send yearly tribute and obtain permission to participate in the pearl fishery.

Shortly after Wilbágedara had a dream. He dreamt that he was leading a herd of elephants, one pure white in colour, and the rest speckled, to a freshly reaped field, where the Paḍikára Mohaṭṭála and his own younger brother the Muhandiram came to meet him, removing the turbans they had round their heads. As they approached he noticed that leeches were climbing up his legs, and as he stooped to brush them off he awoke.

This dream was the harbinger of happy news. The following morning two ship captains named Nicholas Bath and Martino appeared, and with many declarations of their being the humble and loyal servants of their majesties of Siam and Laṇká, placed their new ship the "Cecilia" at the service of the Siṇhalese ambassador. This offer was joyfully accepted; and on Sunday the third day of the waning moon of the month Duruta, the priests and the Siamese mission of seventy-four souls, including the five ambassadors, their interpreters, clerk (*somiyan*), Arachchies, (*mun*), "appus" (*thenei*), soldiers, two *massageurs* (*atapaya mirikana veddu*), musicians, and attendant boys proceeded on board. After an uneventful voyage they reached Batavia; where they were hospitably received by the Dutch general, who presented them with various articles, including three guns. Here they transhipped into a larger vessel, the "Oscabel," in which they reached Trincomalee on Monday, the thirteenth day of the increasing moon of the month Wesak, in the Ṣaka year 1675.

Mr. F. C. ROLES said he should like to ask Mr. Pieris whether the sentence* "a considerable portion .... has been omitted to

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* *Supra*, p. 29.

avoid the risk of appearing to relate the incredible," was a phrase commonly used at that time. Nowadays they were not so considerate. The tendency of exaggeration was not confined to any nation ; and there was no hesitation in stating the incredible, whether it was from Savage Landor or the *goiyá* in the witness box. He should like to know if it was a mere formal phrase, or whether it indicated that they had lost, perhaps, the most interesting part of the description ?

Mr. PIERIS replied that he could only say he translated what the writer said.

The PRESIDENT : I do not think it is unusual for writers in books of travel to say that words fail to express what they saw.

Mr. HARWARD said they must remember it was characteristic of Oriental literature to give catalogues of splendid fittings. Such catalogues formed a part of the poetical and prose descriptions in Oriental literature. Although, no doubt, the Paper gave an interesting description of Siam as it was in the eighteenth century—there was no doubt a great deal of prosperity and splendour there—he did not think they were bound to accept quite the full picture presented to them in that Paper ; because he thought it would come quite natural to a Siṇhalese narrator at the time to give numerical symmetry to the various details he was describing.

Mr. PIERIS said that the writer from whom he had translated appeared to be a very careful writer, and he saw no reason for disbelieving him. When he talked about emeralds the size of oranges he might be mistaken ; but possibly he referred to the green stone. In further proof of the enormous expenditure of the Siamese Kings on their religion, he had the good fortune to have given him a note, (which he did not think was yet published) in which there was reference to a certain temple, where was an image of the Buddha larger than life-size of solid gold. While in England he saw a bell that was captured at the sacking of a town in that quarter ; it weighed 3 cwt., and 2 cwt. of it was solid silver.

Mr. D. B. JAYATILAKA said he did not think there was any difficulty in believing these accounts ; for the simple reason there were accounts by other envoys to Siam. He might mention the interesting fact that the Embassy of A.D. 1950 was the fourth. There had been three before it to Siam, and it was interesting to note that the first Ambassador to Siam, sent by the Siṇhalese King to inquire into religion there, was a Dutch officer. He had seen a letter from him to the Kandyan King, describing the Siamese Court, which was similar in description to the Paper now read. He did not believe that the Dutch exaggerated ; and if they could believe the Dutchman's description, he did not think they need cast any doubt on the Paper now before them.

Mr. W. A. DE SILVA said he had recently been to Siam, and had seen most of the things referred to in the Paper. He had seen the green stones a little larger than an orange. He had also seen the gold image of Buddha life-size. As regards the processions and elephants' houses and trappings, &c., it seemed to him most of these things still remained. If any of them were to go to Siam and watch some of the religious festivals, most of the descriptions given in that Paper would seem to be quite correct. So far as he had observed, they were.

VOTES OF THANKS.

8. The Hon. Mr. S. C. OBEYESEKERE said he had much pleasure in moving a hearty vote of thanks both to Mr. Pohath and Mr. Pieris for their valuable Papers.

9. Advocate Mr. E. W. PERERA seconded the motion. As regards the first Paper, the remarks made by Mudaliyár Guṇawardhana did not by any means prove that the documents were forgeries. He had based his attacks upon the genuineness of the grants on two points. The first was that the dates were incorrect, as judged by a calculation from the computations of Sir Alexander Cunningham. Among the Siṇhalese there were several computations, and he thought in dealing with dates they should have independent computations. But apart from that he should very much like to know in what respect the Siṇhalese characters of the seventeenth century differed from those of the nineteenth century. *Sannas* of the fifteenth century and sixteenth century differed not greatly from the writing of the present day.*

In regard to the second Paper, Mr. Pieris would greatly oblige the Society with a copy of the original manuscript from which he had made that translation. He believed there was not a copy in the Museum Library. In that connection he said there was in Kandy the original of a letter, which accompanied a grant sent by the King of Siam along with an Embassy, and that would give them valuable information and supplement Mr. Pieris's Paper. In regard to what was said about the correctness of the Paper, he should say the information was correct. The question asked by Mr. Roles would have been unnecessary if Sir John Maundeville had written the Paper. He, of course, would not have drawn the line at the incredible. These Siṇhalese Ambassadors, however, while describing the ceremonies, seem to have drawn the line fairly. Human nature was, of course, the same all the world over. He had very great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

The PRESIDENT declared the vote of thanks carried.

10. The Hon. Mr. J. FERGUSON said: The pleasant duty had been accorded to him of proposing a cordial vote of thanks to their President for his services to the Society, and at that late hour he would be very brief in doing so. He regretted that during this first year of their President the Society should have been so barren of Papers; but, Irish-like, their gratitude took the form of lively anticipation of favours. The presidential influence, he trusted, would mean for them very soon some useful Papers from Members of the Scientific Corps in the Public Service up and down country. The gentlemen, for instance, who had been so successfully fleshing their maiden swords as lecturers elsewhere, might now come to the aid of this good old Society in its Ceylon Branch, and he was glad to know that at least one of them had a Paper on the stocks. Meantime they were fortunate as to their President, and tendered him hearty thanks. (Applause.)

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* See *supra* pp. 15, 16. Experience of Siṇhalese *sannas, sittu*, &c., proves that dates in these old native documents (and even in lithic inscriptions) are often hopelessly irreconcilable with Calendars and Tables of Dates. Careful and full collation, knowledge of contemporary history, literary style, and the forms of character in vogue, and—not least—self-restraint against tendency to too hasty condemnation, are essential to "expert" treatment of ancient writings.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

11. The PRESIDENT, in thanking the members for the vote of thanks, said he fully appreciated the force of the Hon. Mr. Ferguson's remarks. He had been able to do very little for them, but coming fresh into a new world as it practically was to him, there was naturally a good many things to do and not much time to spare. But he did cordially agree with Mr. Ferguson on the subject of Papers. They ought to get many of a kind they had not lately, at any rate—his experience did not go very far back—Scientific Papers. And he hoped one of the earliest Papers they would have would be one "The Oyster." It ought to be written by one who could write it no more —he meant Mr. Oliver Collett. That was a particularly appropriate subject. There was a Meeting before his time at which the Governor—he referred to His Excellency Sir West Ridgeway—took the Chair, and at which a great deal of useful information on the subject of oysters was put forward by Mr. Collett. Sir West Ridgeway and he himself had been during the week at the Pearl Fishery—the first, he thought, held in Ceylon for eleven years. It was, of course, new to them, and they had been marvellously astounded at the manner in which that gigantic fishery was worked. There, where three weeks ago there were hardly any inhabitants, and for years no more than three or four huts with about twenty or thirty inhabitants, had suddenly collected 23,000 or 24,000 people, all working hard and bringing in these oysters, which were divided between Government and the divers in a most elaborate system, and the speed and accuracy of working the whole business was most astounding. But a very curious coincidence on his way to the Pearl Fishery he had received a scientific magazine, and in that he came across a very interesting account of a fishery which was held—not where the present fishery was taking place, but opposite Chilaw. What that writer wrote then was just partically what he (the speaker) might have written now, if he was to sit down and write what he saw the last week. What he intended to say was, however this, that the system has no doubt grown up during centuries, and has no doubt grown very perfect. Still there were certain things which he thought required very much to be corrected, and he hoped that by another year, or by next fishing at any rate, they should be able to do a great deal to reform the present system. For that purpose they had Mr. Hornell working out the life-history of the oyster and investigating as to the enemies of the oysters and the pearls also, and Mr. Hornell ought, before long, to supply them with some information for their Journal. They had also an experiment in which he had taken a very personal interest himself. He had it in his mind for many months, and he was glad to say it was working out very well indeed. It was a system of washing out oysters in the same way as he used to see gold washed out in other parts of the world. The other day when he tried the eight oysters—as an experiment, merely—the first produced ten pearls, not counting the seed pearls. They did it in a few minutes, and they might have done 800 in the same time. He thought the experiment promised very well. He thought the old system of washing by merchants would probably survive for a long time, and he would be sorry to see it disappear, but it was very good that Government should have a system for washing the oysters when occasion arose. (Applause.)

This terminated the business of the Meeting.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, June 22, 1903.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., F.R.C.I., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S. | Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.

Mr. F. C. Roles, F.J.I., F.R.C.I., Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on February 11, 1903.

2. Resolved,—The election of following Members:—

A. Van Der Poorten: recommended by	The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson. R. H. Ferguson.
J. B. Carruthers, F.L.S., &c.: recommended by	F. C. Roles. M. K. Bamber.
F. Lushington: recommended by	H. C. P. Bell. C. M. Fernando.
P. Rájaratnum, B.A.: recommended by	S. G. Lee. A. M. Guṇasékara.
A. K. Coomaraswámy, B.Sc., F.L.S., F.G.S.; recommended by	Arthur Willey. R. H. Ferguson.
A. J. Wickramasiṇ̊ha: recommended by	S. C. Obeyesekere. W. P. Raṇasiṇ̊ha.

3. Read an application by Mr. P. Rájaratnum.

Resolved,—That it be passed subject to his paying subscription as a Resident Member for this year.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Correspondence between Rája Siṇ̊ha II. and the Dutch," by Mr. D. W. Ferguson.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted with thanks, that extracts be read at a Meeting, and that the Paper be printed in full in the Society's Journal.

5. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. F. M. Mackwood resigning his office as a Vice-President of the Society.

Resolved,—That the resignation be accepted with regret, and that the Secretaries do communicate with Dr. W. G. Van Dort, M.D., inviting him to accept the office of Vice-President of the Society; that in the event of his declining the honour, the office be offered to Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.; and, that if not accepted by him it be offered to Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

6. Laid on the table letter (No. 2,810 of February 28, 1903) from the Hon. the Colonial Secretary forwarding a Memorandum by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz regarding a Stone Slab at Elie House bearing an inscription.

Resolved,—That the Memorandum be printed in the Society's Journal.

7. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "The Funerals of Cramer, Van Eck, and Falck," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. J. P. Lewis for his opinion.

8. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Notes on a Dutch Medal," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. J. P. Lewis and F. H. de Vos for their opinions.

9. Laid on the table "Second Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted with thanks and printed in the Society's Journal.

10. Laid on the table a letter from the University Library, Cambridge, soliciting the Society's Journal.

Resolved,—That the request be complied with.

11. Considered the question of holding General Meetings on fixed dates.

The Secretaries explained that the suggestion emanated from Dr. Willey.

Resolved,—That the matter do stand over for consideration at some future Meeting at which Dr. Willey, F.R.S., is present.

12. Considered the questions of date and business for the next General Meeting.

Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held on Saturday, August 1, 1903, and that at the Meeting be read a Paper on "Dramatic Poetry and Literature of the Sinhalese," by Mr. W. Arthur de Silva, and any other approved Papers which the Secretaries may select.

13. Considered the question of reprinting Numbers of the Journal and Proceedings now out of print, and laid on the table correspondence.

Resolved,—That no reprints be undertaken without reference to the Council, and that a statement be laid before the Council showing Numbers of Journals, &c., at present in stock and the cost of previous reprints.

The Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY to the HONORARY SECRETARIES, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

Colonial Secretary's Office,
No. 2,810. Colombo, February 28, 1903.

GENTLEMEN,—I AM directed by His Excellency the Governor to forward to you, for insertion in the Society's Journal, the accompanying copy of a Memorandum by Mr.

R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist, regarding a stone slab at Elie House, Mutwal, bearing the following inscription:—

Stads Wagt.
A.D. 1702.

A. G. CLAYTON,
for Colonial Secretary.

MEMORANDUM.

The stone has some historical value, as it no doubt marks the site of the old Dutch Guardhouse put up by Governor Gerrit de Heire. It formed the northern limit of the city, which was composed at that time of the *Kasteel* (Castle) and the *Oude* and *Nieuwe Steden* (Old and New City). The Town or City Council (*Stads Raad*) had its jurisdiction within the Municipal limits, while the rural districts, extending as far as Chilaw and Puttaḷam, were under the authority of the Dissáva of Colombo. *Stads Wagt* ("wacht" in modern Dutch) means "City Guard." The stone had evidently been placed over some gateway of the Guardroom. It had no connection with the present building, which was put up about 1830–1840 as a private residence by Mr. Philip Anstruther, then Colonial Secretary. It would seem that at the time of the building of Elie House some old structure bearing the stone slab had to be demolished, and the builder, not to destroy an interesting landmark, had the stone placed on the floor of the new building to mark the spot.

R. G. ANTHONISZ.

February 18, 1903.

HONORARY SECRETARY, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, to the Hon. the COLONIAL SECRETARY.

Ceylon Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,
No. 60. Colombo, March 2, 1903.

SIR,—I BEG to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the Memorandum by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz forwarded with your letter dated 28th ultimo, and to inform you that it will be laid before the Council of this Society at its next Meeting.

G. A. JOSEPH,
Honorary Secretary.

SECOND SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER ON THE MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY OF CEYLON.

By F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden.

1—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER OND^{R} RUST DEERB^{AR} JUFFW.
RACHEL HOGERLIND^{N} HUYSV^{W}
VAN DEN BOECKHOUD^{R} EN ONT
FANG^{R} VAN 'SCOMP^{S} GERECHTIG
HED^{N} ALHIER JOHANN CRYTSMAN
GEBOOR^{N} DEN 24 JULY A^{O} 1684
EN OVERLED^{N} DEN 28 APRIL A^{O}
1707 OUT 22 JAR^{N} 9 MAANDEN
EN 4 DAGEN

Translation.—Hereunder lies Rachel Hogerlinde, wife of the Boekhouder and Receiver of the Company's Taxes here, Johann Crytsman. Born 24th July, 1684, and died 28th April, 1707. Aged 22 years 9 months and 4 days.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVII., No. 52, pp. 17, 26, and vol. XV., No. 49, pp. 232, 286.

Rachel Hogerlinde was perhaps the daughter of Pieter Willemsz Hogerlinde of Dordrecht and Anna Hoepels of Colombo.

2—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER ONDER LEGT
BEGRAVEN
PETRONELLA ELIZABETH
MARSELIS
GEB : DEN 24STE DEC 1816
OVERL : DEN 7DE MAART 1818
EN
CHRISTINA ELIZABETH KETEL
HUISVROUW VAN
JOHANNES MARSELIS
GEB : DEN 15DE NOVR 1783
OVERL : DEN 13DE OCTR 1827

Translation.—Hereunder lies buried Petronella Elizabeth Marselis. Born 24th December, 1816. Died 7th March, 1818. And Christina Elizabeth Ketel, wife of Johannes Marselis. Born 15th November, 1783. Died 13th October, 1827.

Remarks.—Johannes Marselis, Third Surgeon, was married firstly, on the 30th April, 1797, to Gertruida Jansz ; and secondly, on the 4th May, 1800, to Christina Elizabeth Ketel of Colombo, a daughter most likely of Michael Fredrik Ketel of Dokkum.

3—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

RUST PLAETS VAN DEN
EERBARE JUFFR ANNA
GEVERTZ : VAN COLO
IN HAER LEVEN HVYS
VROUW VAN DEN ASSIS
TENT PIETER HOF
LANT OVERLEDEN
DEN 26 JUNY, 1720 OUD
29 JAREN. 5 MAANDEN
EN 27 DAGEN

Translation.—Resting place of Anna Gevertsz of Colombo, during her life wife of the Assistant Pieter Hofland. Died 26th June, 1720. Aged 29 years 5 months and 27 days.

Remarks.—Pieter Hofland was born in Colombo and was married there on the 4th December, 1707, to Anna Gevertsz of Colombo.

4—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER UNDER RUST
DEN E COENRAAT DIER
CAPIT^N^ DESER STEDE
BURGERY
NATUS NEUREN B 6· FEB^Y^ 1655
OBYT 26 JULY A^O^ 1702

Translation.—Hereunder rests the Hon. Coenraad Dier, Captain of the Burgery of this City. Born in Neurenburg, 6th February, 1655. Died 26th July, 1702.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 32.

5—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

Translation.—Thomas van Vliet. Died 11th June, 1684.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 222, and vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 13.

For sketch of tombstone see Appendix, Plate I.

6—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

GEHEYLIGD
TER GEDAGTENIS
VAN
SERAPHINA SANSONY
GEBOOREN
DEN 9. DECEMB^R^ 1801
OVERLEEDEN 29ST MAART
1811
OUD 9 JAAREN 3 MAADEN
EN 20 DAGEN

Translation.—Sacred to the memory of Seraphina Sansony. Born 9th December, 1801. Died 29th March, 1811. Aged 9 years 3 months and 20 days.

Remarks.—Dr. Joseph Sansony, who was stationed in Matara, and who died on the 3rd May, 1807, was married to Johanna Dorothea Julia Wilhelmina Schorer, widow of Samuel Pieter Foenander of Calmar, and daughter of Jan Willem Schorer of Middelburg, Chief of Trincomalee, by his second wife, Juliana Cornelia Lebeck. The children of this marriage were: (1) (Johanna) Seraphina (Juliana) Sansony; (2) Angelica Sansony, born 4th September, 1805; (3) James Roeland Sansony, born 10th December, 1806; (4) Joseph Sansony, born 14th February, 1808, died in Galle 1st March, 1831; married (1) Maria Elizabeth Atkinson and (2) Sarah Henrietta Staats.

7—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIÉR. LEYT BEGRAVEN
DEN EERSAMEN,
JOB GOUTIER,
IN SYN LEVEN
VRYBORGHER,
EN, VICEPRESES VAN 'T
CIVILE COLLEGIE
GESTORVEN: DEN. XVI
FEBRY, AO = 1689:
OUT. LXII: JAAREN

Translation.—Here lies buried the Honourable Job Goutier, during his life Free Burgher and Vice-President of the Civil College. Died 16th February, 1689. Aged 62 years.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 21.

8—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEYT BEGRAVEN DE
EERBARE JUF[R] DOMINCA SUA
RUS WAARDE HAUSFRAUW
VAN DEN E = JACOB HALS
BURGER CAP[IT] DESER STE
DE COLOMBO OBYT DEN
28 JUNY A° 1721 OUD
40 JAREN 9 DAGEN

Translation.—Here lies buried Dominca Suarus, worthy wife of Jacob Hals Burgher, Captain of the City of Colombo. Died 28th June, 1721. Aged 40 years and 9 days.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 232, and vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 18.

9—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEGGEN BEGRAVEN
ANIKE FOCKES
IN ZYN LEVEN BAAS DER
SCHEEPSTIMMERLIEDEN AL
HIER OVERLEDEN DEN 13 OC
TOBER ANNO 1740
EN DESSELFS OUDSTE DOGTER
JOHANNA ISABELLA FOCKES
HUYSVROUW VAN DEN CHI
RURGYNMAJOOR TE GALE
JAN WILLEM NIEPER
HIER OVERLEEDEN DEN
13 JULY A° 1754

Translation.—Here lies buried Anike Fockes, during his life Baas of the Ships' Carpenters. Died here on the 13th October, 1740. And his eldest daughter Johanna Isabella Fockes, wife of the Surgeon-Major of Galle, Jan William Nieper. Died here 13th July, 1754.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XI., No. 49, p. 252, and vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 24.

Anike Fockes was a native of Amsterdam, and was married in Colombo, 31st May, 1722, to Catharina van Laten, baptized in Colombo, 21st March, 1705, daughter of Gerrit Jansz van Laten of Embden, Boekhouder, and Isabella Pietersz.

10—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER RUST
QUIRYN GOUTIER
OUT 29 JAAREN
STERFD 16° APRIL
A° 1697

Translation.—Here rests Quiryn Goutier. Aged 29 years. Died 16th April, 1697.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 245, and vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 21.

Quiryn Goutier was married in Colombo, 10th July, 1689, to Elizabeth Chiap of Colombo, who married, as widow Goutier, in Colombo, 21st October, 1703, George Albertsz of Insterburg.

11—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEYT
BEGRAVEN
DEN
E-ZACHARIAS
KAKELAAR
ZAL[R] IN SYN LEVEN
KOOPMAN
EN SECRETARIS-
ALHIER GEBOOREN
DEN 18 MAART
1652
OVERLEDEN
DEN 20 JULY 1690

Translation.—Here lies buried the Hon. Zacharias Kakelaar, during his life Koopman and Secretary here. Born 18th March, 1652. Died 20th July, 1690.

Remarks.—Zacharias Kakelaar was married to Petronella van Zon, and had by her (1) Barbara, baptized in Colombo, 22nd February, 1688; and (2) Helena, baptized in Colombo, 31st July, 1689.

12—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER. RUST
DE. EERBARE
IUFFROUW
RACHEL. BROUWERS
HUYSVROU. VAN DEN
OPPERCHIRURGYN
DES CAST[LS] COLOMBO
JAN JACOB BRUNEK
OUT 24 JAER 9 MAA[N]
DEN II DAGEN. ENDE
OVERLEEDEN.
DEN 25. JANUARY
ANNO
1691.

Translation.—Here rests Juffrouw Rachel Brouwers, wife of the Chief Surgeon of the Fort of Colombo, Jan Jacob Brunek, aged 24 years 9 months and 11 days, and died on the 25th January, 1691.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 35.

13—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER ONDER RUST, 'T LYCK
VAND'EERBARE JUFFROUW
JOANNA BODDENS. LAETSTE
WEDUWE WYLENDEN ON
DERCOOPMAN PIETER ROOS
ZAL[R] OVERLEDEN DEN 9[E]
JUNY A[O] 1708 OUD 44 JAREN

Translation.—Hereunder rests the body of Johanna Boddens, last widow of the late Onderkoopman Pieter Roos of blessed memory. Died 9th June, 1708. Aged 44 years.

14—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER RUST HET LYK
VAN DE E PIETER ROOS
IN SYN LEVEN ONDER
COOPM^{N} PRESID^{T} VAN
WEESMEESTEREN, EN
CIVILEN RAAD ALHIER
OVERLEDEN DEN 23^{EN}
XBER A^{o} 1705 OUT 49 JAA
REN 10 MAANDEN

Translation.—Here rests the body of the Hon. Pieter Roos, during his life Onderkoopman and President of the Orphan Masters and Civil Court here. Died 23rd December, 1705. Aged 49 years and 10 months.

15—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER RUST
CATHARINA ELISABETH
WOLFF,
HUISVROUW VAN DEN HEER
J. H. RECKERMAN.
GEBOOREN
DEN 21STE MAART 1773,
EN OVERLEEDEN
DEN 11STE FEBRUARY 1803

Translation.—Here rests Catharina Elizabeth Wolff, wife of J. H. Reckerman, born 21st March, 1773, and died 11th February, 1803.

Remarks.—Jan Hendrik Reckerman (son of Jan Hendrik Reckerman of Onna) was first married to Ulrica Wilhelmina Caspersz. He married secondly, in Colombo, on the 14th August, 1796, Catharina Elizabeth Wolff, baptized in Colombo, 28th March, 1773, daughter of Jan Sebastiaan Wolff of Amsterdam and Anna Cornelia Leutz of Kalutara, widow of Hendrik Willem Francke of Batticaloa.

16—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER RUST DEN
ONDERCOOPM.
JOANNES HUYS-
MAN GEBOREN
OP JAFF : DEN 25
FEB : 1670 OVERL
TOT COLOMBO
DEN 21. SEPT. A° :
1709 OUD SYN-
DE 39 JAREN 6 M^N^ EN $\frac{26}{0}$

Translation.—Here rests the Onderkoopman Joannes Huysman. Born in Jaffna, 25th February, 1670. Died in Colombo 21st September, 1709. Aged 39 years 6 months and 26 days.

Remarks.—Joannes Huysman was the son of Marten Huysman of Rotterdam, Director of Bengal, and Magdalena Castelyn (I. Wapenheraut, 118).

17—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER RUST DE EER-
BAARE JUFF^R^ OTI
LIA BORMAN ZAL^R^
GEWEESE HUYS
VROUW VAN DEN
BOECKHOUDER S^R^
DIRCK BRUMMER
GEBOOREN OP CO
LOMBO DEN 4^N^ ZB^R^
A° 1700 DEN 16^N^ JU
NY A° 1721 IN DEN
HEERE ONTSLAE
PEN : HIERMEDE RUST
DIRCK ANTONY BROMMER
SOONTJE VANDEN BOEKHO
UDER DIRCK BROMMER EN
OTILIA BORMAN GEBOR^N^ D29
M 1721 D^N^ 9. . 8B IND^N^ HEERE ONTSLAEPEN

Translation.—Here rests Juffrouw Otilia Borman of blessed memory, late wife of the Boekhouder Dirck Brummer. Born in Colombo, 4th September, 1700. Died 16th June, 1721. There also rests here Dirck Antony Brommer, a little son of the Boekhouder Dirck Brommer and Otilia Borman. Born 29th May, 1721. Died 9th October.

Remarks.—Otilia Borman (Borremans ?) was the daughter of Antony Borremans of Keulen and Gertruida van der Putte.

Dirk Brummer (Brommer ?) was a native of Bremen, and was married to Otilia in Colombo on the 22nd May, 1718.

18—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEYT BEGRAVEN
MR HENDRICK JA
COB VAN TOLL
IN SYN LEVEN AD
SISTENT IN COMP^S
DIENST OVERLEDEN
DEN 25 NOVEMB^R
ANNO 1702

Translation.—Here lies buried Mr. Hendrick Jacob van Toll, during his life Assistant in the Company's Service. Died 25th November, 1702.

19—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEYT BEGRAV^N
CORNELIS HANECOP
VAN JAFFANAP^M IN ZYN
LEVEN ADSIST$_T$ TEN
DIENSTE DER E. COMP
GEBOOREN DEN 16.
SEPT^BER A° 1674 EN OVER
LEDEN DEN 14 JAN^RY 1702

Translation.—Here lies buried Cornelis Hanecop of Jaffnapatnam, during his life Assistant in the Service of the Honourable Company. Born 16th September, 1674. Died 14th January, 1702.

Remarks.—See Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 285, and vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 30.

For sketch of tombstone see Appendix, Plate III.

20—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEGT BEGRA
VEN DEN EERSAMEN
JACOB PIETERSZ LOOS
VAN AMSTERDAM
IN SYN LEVEN BAAS
VAN'S COMP^S WAPEN
KAM^R ALHIER GEBO
REN DEN 15^N FEBR^Y
1655 OBYT 8^N JAN^Y
ANNO 1702

Translation.—Here lies buried Jacob Pietersz Loos of Amsterdam, during his life Baas of the Company's Armoury here. Born 15th February, 1655. Died 8th January, 1702.

Remarks.—Jacob Pietersz Loos was married in Colombo, on the 1st June, 1681, to Margarita Dirks de Vries of Colombo. He was the ancestor of the Loos family of Ceylon.

21—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEYT
BEGRAVEN
JAN
WEEMAYER
IN SYN LEVEN
CRUYTMAKER
OBIT
DEN. I—APRIL
A° 1686

Translation.—Here lies buried Jan Weemayer, during his life Gunpowder Maker. Died 1st April, 1686.

Remarks.—Jan Weemayer was married to Annetje Jansz Verhaare of Batavia, who married, as widow Weemayer, Hubert van Kranendonk of Batavia.

22—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

HIER LEYT
BEGRAVEN
WILLEM MEYER
OVERLEDEN
DEN 6 XBER A° 1678
OUT SYNDE
60 JAAREN

Translation.—Here lies buried Willem Meyer. Died 6th December, 1678. Aged 60 years.

23—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

GENES. 49. VERS 18.
OP UWE SALIG
HEYDT WAC
HTE, ICK HEERE.
HIER RUST D. EERBAER
E JUFFROU MARIA GERR
ETSEN VAN COLOMBO
IN HAER LEVEN HUYSVRO
UWE VAN DEN SCHIPPR IA
N DE WANDEL SY. IS GEBO
OREN DEN 12, JUNY 1664. OV
ERLEDEN DEN. 3. MAY A° 16
94 HAER. OUDER DOM 29
JAER 11 MAENDEN 9 DAGEN

Translation.—Genesis 49, verse 18.

I have waited for Thy Salvation, O Lord.

Here rests Maria Gerretsen of Colombo, during her life wife of the Skipper Jan de Wandel. She was born on the 12th June, 1664. Died 3rd May, 1694. Her age 29 years 11 months and 9 days.

Remarks.—Maria Gerretsen was married (1) to Matthys Cornelisz, a miller ; and (2) in Colombo, on the 10th January, 1683, to Jan de Wandel of Maldegem.

24—Pettah Cemetery, Colombo.

Remarks.—For sketch of tombstone of Johannes Strick, see Appendix, Plate II.

For translation of epitaph and blazon of arms, see Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 286.

25—Jaffna.

Hatchment on wall of the Church.

See Appendix, Plate IV.

Translation.—Baron de Reder. Born in Goldberg in Silesia, 25th May, 1706. Died in Jaffnapatam, 26th March, 1769.

Remarks.—The above inscription is not included in the "Lapidarium Zeylanicum." Baron de Reder accompanied Governor van Eck in his expedition to Kandy, A.D. 1766. Before he was Commandant of Jaffna he was Captain in the Prussian Regiment of Knobelsdorf.

26—Jaffna.

HIER RUST HET LYK
VAN MEJOUFFROW
SUSANNA ANTHONIA VAN PELT
WAARDE HUYSVROUW
VAN DEN E. AGTBAREN HEER
JAFFNAPATNAMS COMMANDEUR
JACOB DE JONG
GEBOREN TE BATAVIA
DEN 22 MAART 1727
OBIIT DEN 12 OCTOB^{R} 1751
OUD 24 JAREN 6 MAANDE 27 DAGEN
NOG LEGT HIERONDER
HET ZOONTJE VAN GEMELD JUFF^{W}
JULIUS ABRAHAM AARNOUTSEN
NATUS TE COLOMBO DEN 21 MEY 1747
OBIIT DEN 18 NOVEMBER, 1748
OUD I JAAR 5 MAANDEN 27 DAGEN

Remarks.—The epitaph of Anthonia van Pelt is incomplete as given in "Lapidarium Zeylanicum," 86. It should be as over.

27—Jaffna.

HENDR PHIL VOS
HUYSVROUW VAN
DEN ORDINR VUURWERKER
THOMAS NAGEL
GEBOREN 20 MAY ANO 1754
OVERLEEDEN 23 JUNY
ANNO 1774.

Translation.—Hendrina Philipina Vos, wife of the ordinary "fire-worker" Thomas Nagel. Born 20th May, 1754. Died 23rd June, 1774.

Remarks.—This tombstone is at present used as a stepping stone to the house of a native about four miles from Jaffna. Hendrina Philipina Vos was the daughter of Hendrik Martin Vos of Bussenbot, who came out in the ship "Langewyk," and Johanna Carlier. Thomas Nagel was afterwards Chief of the Wanny.

28—Jaffna.

In the epitaph of Floris Blom the last line is omitted in the "Lapidarium Zeylanicum," 79. It runs :—

.........DEN EN 6 DAGEN

(months and 6 days).

29—Jaffna.

On the inner wall of the Jaffna Fort.

GOD IS DE OPPERSTE REGTER.

Translation.—God is the Supreme Judge.

30—Trincomalee.

HIER RUST IN DEN
HEERE
MEJUFF. JOHANNA
JACOBA SIEMONSZ
IN LEEVEN HUISV.
VAN DEN OPPERCHI
RURGYN JOH. HEND.
HARTSZ OUD 35 JAA
REN 2 MAAND. GEB
TE TRINK. D^N^ 31 AUG
A. 1757, OVERLEEDEN
1 NOVEMB. A° 1792.

Translation.—Here rests in the Lord, Johanna Jacoba Siemonsz, during her life wife of the Chief Surgeon Johan Hendrik Hartsz. Aged 35 years and 2 months. Born in Trincomalee on the 31st August, 1757. Died 1st November, 1792.

31—Trincomalee.

ICH LIEGE UND SCHLAFFE
GANTZ MET FRIEDENDEN
DER HERR HELFT MIR DAS
ICH SICH ER WOHNE
MEJUF^R^ JOH. HENR. PIETERS
IN LEEVEN HUISV^R^ VAN
DEN WELED. MANH. HEER
GERRIT DE LANGE LUIT
TER ZEE EN EQUIPAGIEM
TE TRINKONOMALE
GEB. TRINKO. 10 JAN A° 1758
OVERLEDEN 31 MAY A. 1794.

Translation.—I lie and rest altogether at peace, the Lord helping me that I dwell in Him.

Johanna Henrica Pieters, during her life wife of the gallant Gerrit de Lange, Naval Lieutenant and Harbour

Master of Trincomalee. Born in Trincomalee, 10th January, 1758. Died 31st May, 1794.

Remarks.—Gerrit de Lange was a native of Beeren, and was previously married to Anne Catharina Betger of Colombo.

32—Trincomalee.

HIER ONDER RUST DEN WELED. MANH. HEER
ANTHONIE HAGEMAN IN LEVEN KAPITEIN DER
MILITIE GEB. TE STOKHOLM DEN 31 JANUARY, 1729
IN DEN HEERE ONTSLAPEN 30 JULY, 1793

Translation.—Hereunder rests the gallant Anthonie Hageman, during his life Military Captain. Born in Stockolm, 31st January, 1729. Died 30th July, 1793.

His daughter Johanna Dorothea Hageman was the wife of Lieut.-Colonel François Piachaud of the De Meuron Regiment.

33—Trincomalee.

HIER LEGT DE ONWARDEERBARE EGH
TGENOOT DE GOEDHARTIGE VADER DEN WEL
EDEL GEBOOREN HEER JACQUES FABRICE
VAN SENDEN IN LEEVEN KOOPM. EN OPPER
HOOFD VAN TRYNCONOMALE GEB. TE UTRECHT
IN HET JAAR 1755
OV. HIER OCT. 1789
OUD 34 JAAR
HOE KORT IS HET LEEVEN
HOE LANG IS DE EEUWIGHEIT

Translation.—Here lies the inestimable husband, the good-hearted father, Jacques Fabrice van Senden, during his life

Koopman and Chief of Trincomalee. Born in Utrecht in the year 1755. Died here 1789.

How short is life!

How long is eternity!

Remarks.—Jacques Fabrice van Senden was married in Colombo, 5th April, 1778, to Sara Maria Francina Holst, baptized in Colombo 7th February, 1761, daughter of Gerrit Engel Holst and Maria Francina Schokman, and had a daughter Angelica Frederica Maria Welhelmina van Senden, baptized in Colombo 3rd October, 1779.

34—Jaffna.

Remarks.—For sketch of tombstone of Anna Elizabeth Mom, see Appendix, Plate V. The epitaph has already been translated in the First Supplementary Paper. Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), No. 52, vol. XVII., 1901, p. 39.

35—Jaffna.

For sketch of tombstone see Appendix, Plate VI.

Translation.—Here lies buried Barent van Schuylenburg, during his life Captain in the Service of the Honourable Company. Died 23rd September, 1673.

Arms.—(D'or) a trois crampons (de sa).

Remarks.—Barent van Schuylenburg was at Manaar, A.D. 1641 (II. Wapenheraut, 229). Another Barent van Schuylenburg was Captain in Batavia, A.D. 1703 (IV. Wapenheraut, 90).

36—Galle.

For sketch of the arms on the tombstone of Michael Adriaansz, see Appendix, Plate VII. The epitaph has already been translated in the original Paper.

37—Galle.

For a sketch of the arms on the tombstone of Laurentius Hemling, see Appendix, Plate VIII. The epitaph has already been translated in the original Paper.

38.

Gold medal :—

UYT NAME DER
EDELE NEEDERLANDSE
DOORLUGTIGE MAATSCHAPPY
WERD DOOR DEN WEL EDELEN HEER GOUVERN^{R}
MR ISAAC AUGUSTIN RUMPF
RAAD ORD^{R} VAN INDIA DIT GEDENKTEEKEN
VEREERT AAN DON SIMON WIEDJE
WARDENE MODLIAR OPZIGTER OVER DE
BAYGAMS, GIREWAYS, CATOENE
OEDOEBOCKE EN KIRAMA, DIE NIET
ALLEEN IND' ORD^{R} DIENSTEN VAN JAAG
SAAY MEESTER EN OPZIGTER MAAR
OOK IN D' EXTRAORD^{R} AANPLANTING
VAN COFFY IN ZBER 1720 INGEVOERT
ALLE DE GAALSE EN MATÜRESECE
HOOFDEN IN GEHOORSAAME
NAARSTIGHEYT SEER VERRE
HEEFT OVER TROFFEN

Remarks.—On reverse side a full sail. Below it, between a bird perched on a tree, two shields, the dexter charged with an elephant and the sinister being the arms of Governor Rumpf. At the bottom "Colombo den 4 Feb., 1722."

Translation.—In the name of the Honourable Illustrious Dutch (East India) Company was, by the Hon'ble the Governor Mr. Isaac Augustin Rumpf, Ordinary Councillor of India, this commemorative medal presented to Don Simon Wiedjewardene, Mudaliyar, Superintendent of the Baygams, Gireways, Catoene, Oedoebocke, and Kirama, who not only in the ordinary services of master and overseer of the hunt and

sowing, but also in the extraordinary planting of coffee introduced in September, 1720, greatly excelled all the Galle and Matara chiefs in obedient zeal.

39.

Gold medal :—

DOOR DEN
WEL EDELEN
AGTBAREN HEER
RAAD EXTRAORDINAIR VAN
INDIA EN CEYLONS GOUVERNEUR
STEPHANUS VERSLUYS
IS DESE MEDALIE AAN DON SIMON
WIEDJEWARDENE ILANGACON
MODLIAR TOT EEN TEEKEN VAN EERE
OM HEM DAAR DOOR VOORTAAN IN
SYN DIENST MEER EN MEER TE EN
COURAJEEREN AFGEGEVEN IN'T
CASTEEL COLOMBO
DEN 9 JAN. 1731.

Translation.—By the Hon. Extraordinary Councillor of India and Governor of Ceylon Stephanus Versluys is this medal given, in the Fort of Colombo on the 9th January, 1731, to Don Simon Wiedjewardene Ilangacon, Mudaliyar, as a token of honour to thereby more and more encourage him in his services.

40.

Gold medal :—

GEGEVEN
DOOR DEN HEER RAAD ORDINAIR
EN GOUVERNEUR VAN CEILON
WILHELM JACOB VAN DE GRAAFF
AAN
DON COENRAAD PIETER DIAS WIJEYWARDENE
BANDARENAIJKE MAHA MODELIAAR EN HOOFD
VAN

DE HINA KORLE OM HEM EN ZYNE NAZAATEN NA HEM TE
DIENEN TOT EEN TEEKEN VAN EERE EN ERKENTENIS VAN
DE TROUWE WAARMEEDE HY STEEDS DE KOMPAGNIE GEDIENT
HEEFT EN WELKE HY ONDER ANDEREN NIET ALLEEN GETOOND
HEEFT IN HET JAAR 1790 TER GELEGENHEID DAT IN DE AAN
GRENSENDE KORLES VERSCHEIDE ONGEHOORZAAME DAADEN
GEPLEEGD ZYN MAAR OOK INZONDERHEID GEDUURENDE
DE DAAR NA ONTSTAANE TRUBBELEN MET HET HOFF
VAN KANDIA EN ZULK IN'T VAST VERTROUWEN
DAT DEESE BYZONDERE BLYK VAN DISTINKTIE
HEM EN ZYNE NAZAATEN NA HEM ZAL STREK
KEN TOT VERDERE AAN MOEDIGING OM BY
VOORTDUURING GETROUW EN YVERIG TE ZYN
IN DEN DIENST VAN DE KOMPANIE
KOLOMBO DEN 23 AUGUSTUS
1792

Remarks.—On reverse side two shields, one charged with a lion rampant with the motto "Eendraght maackt macht" (Union is strength); the other with a ship in full sail with the words "Ver. Ned. O.I. Comp." (United Dutch East India Company).

Translation.—Given by the Ordinary Councillor and Governor of Ceylon Wilhelm Jacob van de Graaff to Don Coenraad Pieter Dias Wijeywardene Bandarenaike, Maha Mudaliyar and Chief of the Hina Corle, to serve him and his descendants after him as a token of honour and acknowledgment of the fidelity with which he has always served the Company, which he has shown, among other occasions, not

only in the year 1790, when certain riotous acts were committed in the neighbouring corles, but especially during the troubles which thereafter arose with the Court of Kandy, and this in the firm belief that this special mark of distinction will tend to encourage him and his descendants after him to further fidelity and zeal in the service of the Company. Colombo, 23rd August, 1793.

Remarks.—Don Coenraad Pieter Dias Wijeywardene Bandaranaike was married on the 4th December, 1768, to Louisa Jeronymus.

41.

Gold medal :—

BY MY
JULIUS VALENTYN
STEIN VAN GOLLENNESE
EERSTE RAAD EN DIRECTEUR GENER.
VAN NEDERLANDSCHE INDIA EN AF
GAANDE GOUVERNEUR EN DIRECTEUR
VAH HET EYLAND CEILON BILLYK
GELET ZYNDE OP DE GOEDE EN GETROUWE
DIENSTEN GEDUURENDE ONS AGTJARIG AAN
WESEN TEN DEZEN EYLANDE DOOR
PHILIP PHILIPSZ WIDJEYCOON
PANDITARATNE MAHA MUDALIAAR
EN EERSTE TOLK ONZER PORTA IN VERSCHY
DENE QUALITEITEN AAN D'E COMP.
BEWESEN ZO ZYN WY DAARDOOR
BEWOGEN GEWORDEN ONZE WEL
WILLENDHYD TE HEM WAARDS DOOR
DEZEN GEDENKPENNING BY ZYNE
NAZATEN TE BEVESTEN EN
VERZEKEREN
GEGEVEN IN HET CASTEEL
COLOMBO
DEN 7 MAERT 1751.

Translation.—I, Julius Valentyn Stein van Gollennese, Chief Councillor and Director-General of the Dutch Indies,

and departing Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon, having justly considered the good and faithful services rendered in various capacities to the Honourable Company during our eight years' stay in this Island by Philip Philipsz Widjeycoon Panditaratne, Maha Mudaliaar and Chief Interpreter of our Gate, we have been thereby moved to show our regard to him by confirming and assuring this commemorative medal to his descendants.

Given in the Fort of Colombo on the 7th March, 1751.

Remarks.—Philip Philipsz was the father of Henricus Philipsz, the Predikant.

42.

An oval gold medal :—

(*Obverse.*)

TER
GEDAGTENIS VAN
D' EERWAARDE HEER
GERARDUS POTKEN
V.D.M. EN ZIJN
EERW. HUIJSVROUW Z.G.
SOPHIA MAGDALENA ECOMA
DOOR ZIJN EERW. GEGEVEN
AAN DESSELFS KLEIJNDOGTER
MARIA MAGDALENA POTKEN
OP HAAR EERSTE VERJAARDAG
DEN 23 NOVEMBER
1753.

(*Reverse.*)

Coat of Arms.—Quarterly (1) Muntz ; (2) and (3) Potken ; (4) Ecoma.

Translation.—Given in remembrance of the Rev. Gerardus Potken, V.D.M., and his late wife Sophia Magdalena Ecoma, by His Reverence to his grand-daughter Maria Magdalena Potken on her first birthday, the 23rd November, 1753.

Remarks.—Maria Magdalena Potken was the daughter of Gabriel Willem Potken of Colombo and Henrietta Huberta

Raket of Jaffna. She married in Colombo on the 27th October, 1771, Julius Valentyn Bauert of Colombo, an Assistant in the service of the Dutch East India Co., son of Jan Bauert of Treptow in Mecklenburg, Dissave of Matara, and Catharina Berghuys.

As regards the arms, see "Lapidarium Zeylanicum," 88. The Ecoma coat of arms, as given in the 4th quarterly, is a negro's head between four lozenges, and therefore somewhat different from the arms of the family in "Lapidarium Zeylanicum," plate 27.

43.

Gold medal :—

VOLGENS HET
BESLOOTENE IN RAADE VAN
CEILON OP DEN 28 SEPTB. 1765 HEEFT
DE WEL EDELE GROOT ACHTB. HEER GOU
VERNEUR EN DIRECKTEUR VAN CEILON MR.
IMAN WILLEM FALCK DEEZE GEDENK PEN
NING MET DE DAARAAN GEHECHTE GOUDENE KETEN
UYT NAAM EN VAN WEGEN DE NEDERLANDSCHE
O. I. MAATSCHAPPY OP DEESEN 30 OKTOB. 1765 GESCHON
KEN AAN SAMEREDIVAKER DASSANAYKE
WIKKEREMESINHE MODLIAAR VAN DE HAPIT
TIGAM KORLE TER BELOONINGE VAN ZYNE AAN
DE MAATSCHAPPY BEWEEZENE TROUWE DIENSTEN
INZONDERHEID GEBLEEKEN BY DEN OPTOGT
NAAR KANDIA VAN DEN WELEDELEN GROOT
ACHTB. HEER LUBBERT JAN BARON
VAN ECK H. L. M. GEDUURENDE
HET VERBLYF VAN ONZE BEZETTING AL
DAAR EN ALLER MEEST BY HAAREN
AFTOGT NAAR
HERWAARDS.

Translation.—In terms of the Resolution in Council of Ceylon of the 28th September, 1765, the Hon. the Governor and Director of Ceylon Mr. Iman Willem Falck has, on the 30th October, 1765, presented, in the name and on behalf of the Dutch East India Company, this medal with gold chain attached, to Sameredivaker Dassanayke Wikkeremesinhe, Mudaliyar of the Hapittigam Corle, as a reward for his faithful services to the Company, especially in the march to Kandy of the Hon. Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck of sacred memory, during our occupation of the place, and chiefly during our retreat hither.

44.

Inscription on a silver salver, the property of Mrs. Dias Bandaranaike of Mutwal :—

TER GEDAGTENIS VAN
JACOB VERBOOM
IN SYN LEVEN ONDERKOOPMAN EN GESWOREN
CLERK TE SECRETARIE VAN HEEREN SCHEPENEN
DER STAD BATAVIA
OBIIT DEN 29 AUGUSTY 1728
OUT SYNDE 38 JÃA. IM̃ EN 24 DÃG.

Translation.—To the memory of Jacob Verboom, during his life Onderkoopman and Sworn Clerk of the Secretariat of the Sheriffs of the city of Batavia. Died on the 29th August, 1728, aged 38 years 1 month and 24 days.

45.

Inscription on a similar salver, the property of Mr. Robert Samaradiwakere of Pelahela :—

TER GEDAGTENISSE VAN DEN WEL EDELEN
HEER ADRIAAN OOSTWALT EERSTE RAAD
EN DIRECTEUR GENERAAL VAN NEDERLANDS
INDIA OVERLEDEN DEN 29 DECEMBER A° 1734
OUD 60 JAAREN II MAANDEN EN 16 DAGEN

Translation.—To the memory of the Hon. Adriaan Oostwalt, Chief Councillor and Director-General of the Dutch Indies. Died on the 29th December, 1734, aged 60 years 11 months and 16 days.

Remarks.—Adriaan Oostwalt was born in Breda, 14th January, 1674, and died in Batavia, where his tombstone is still to be seen. (VII., Wapenheraut, p. 427.)

46.

Oval gold medal with chain, property of the widow of the late Hon. J. de Alwis, M.L.C. On the reverse a ship.

TER
GEDAGTENISSE VAN
DE DOORGRAVINGE EN VAERT
OVER NENDOEMALE IN HET
LAK VAN MOROTTOE BEGONNEN
EN VOLEIDIGT IN DEN JAARE 1771
ONDER DE REGEERING VAN
DEN WEL EDELEN GROOTACHTBAREN HEERE
Mr. IMAN WILLEM FALCK
RAEDEXTRAORDINAIR VAN NEDERLANDS
INDIA GOUVERNEUR EN DIREKTEUR VAN HE
EY
LAND CYLON ENDEN RESORTE VAN DIEN
WORD MET DIT TEEKEN VAN EERE EN ER-
KENTE
NISSE BEGUNSTIGD DON DANIEL
ALVIS GOENETILEKE SAMMERESINGE
MODLIAR VAN DE SALPITTY CORLE
OVER EN VAN WEGENS ZYNEN GE
DUURENDE HET GANTSCHE WERK
BETOONDEN ONVERMOEYTEN
VLYT EN ARBEID

Translation.—In commemoration of the opening of a canal over Nendoemale in the lake of Morottoe, begun and completed in the year 1771, under the administration of the Hon. Mr. Iman Willem Falck, Extraordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies and Director of the Island of Ceylon and the Dependencies thereof, with this token of honour and recognition is favoured.

Don Daniel Alvis Goenetileke Sammeresinge, Mudaliyar of the Salpitty Corle, by reason of the indefatigable zeal and industry displayed by him during the construction of the whole work.

47.

Oval gold medal, property of the widow of the late Hon. J. de Alwis, M.L.C. On the reverse 14 cinnamon plants

AAN
DON DANIEL ALWIS
GOENETILEKE SAMERESINGHE
MODELIAAR VAN SALPITIE
KORLE DEN BESTEN KANEEL
PLANTER GESCHONKEN
VAN WEGENS REGEERING VAN CEILON
1773

Translation.—Presented on behalf of the Government of Ceylon in 1773 to Don Daniel Alwis Goenetileke Sameresinghe, Mudaliyar of the Salpiti Korale, the best cinnamon planter.

48.

Over the entrance to the old military hospital, Hospital street, Galle :—

AKERSLOOT
A° 1750.

Remarks.—This bastion was no doubt named after the birthplace of Willem Jacobsz Coster. The marriage register of Batavia records his marriage thus :—

"30 Juli 1637. Willem Jacobsz Coster, Commandeur van Akersloot
Weduwnaar van Willemtze Ren
met
Johanna Goosens van Dantzic jonge dogter"

(30 July, 1637. Willem Jacobs Coster, Commandeur of Akersloot, widower of Willemtze Ren, with Johanna Goosens of Dantzic, spinster.) The same register informs us that after Coster's death (Nillegala, 21st August, 1640) Johanna Goosens married in Batavia, 14th February, 1643, Pieter Soury of Rotterdam, Commissaris, widower of Agnita Cluyten.

49.

On a silver tobacco box in the possession of Dr. Pieris :—

HEYMAN.

Adolph Martin Heyman, an Ensign in the Dutch Service, was a native of Leuwenstein. He was married in Colombo, 26th July, 1789, to Cornelia Henrietta Philipsz, who married, as widow Heyman, Christoppel de Saram, fourth Maha Mudaliyar.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

(L. Z., 81.)

The tombstone of Anthony Mooyaart contains the following verse :—

IK BEVIND'T NU GEWIS
DAT STERVEN MYN GEWIN IS

(I now find for certain that death is my gain.)

(L. Z., 84.)

The following verse on the tombstone of Daniel Agreen has been omitted by Ludovici :—

GEEN WYSHEID WAS OOYT ZOO GROOT
ALS DIKMAALS DENKEN OM DEN DOOD

(There was never greater wisdom than a frequent contemplation of death.)

BAX.

Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 279, and vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 31.

This tombstone has just been discovered in Galle, in a drain close to the staircase leading to the District Court.

Johan Bax belonged to the family Bax van Herenthal. He was afterwards Governor of the Cape, where he died 29th June, 1678.

Aletta Hinloopen was the daughter of Jacob Hinloopen, schepen en raad of Amsterdam, and Maria Huydecoper van Maarsseveen, who married, as widow, Bax, Jan van Leenen.

The arms on the tombstone are elaborate, being the quartered arms of two Bax families, viz., Bax van Herenthal and Bax de Hertoge, but no colours are indicated. According to Rietstap ("Armorial Général") the arms on the tombstone would be blazoned as follows :—

Ec. aux 1 et 4 d'or à trois gourdes de sin ; aux 2 et 3 d'or à trois pals d'azur ; au chef de gu. ch. d'un lion léopardé d'arg. au surtout d'arg. au chef de gu. ch. d'un lion léopardé d'arg.

The first and fourth quarterings are the arms of the Van Herenthal branch, the second and third quarterings of the De Hertoge branch.

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Wikkeremesinghe, 73
Wolf, 58
Zon (van), 57

APPENDIX.

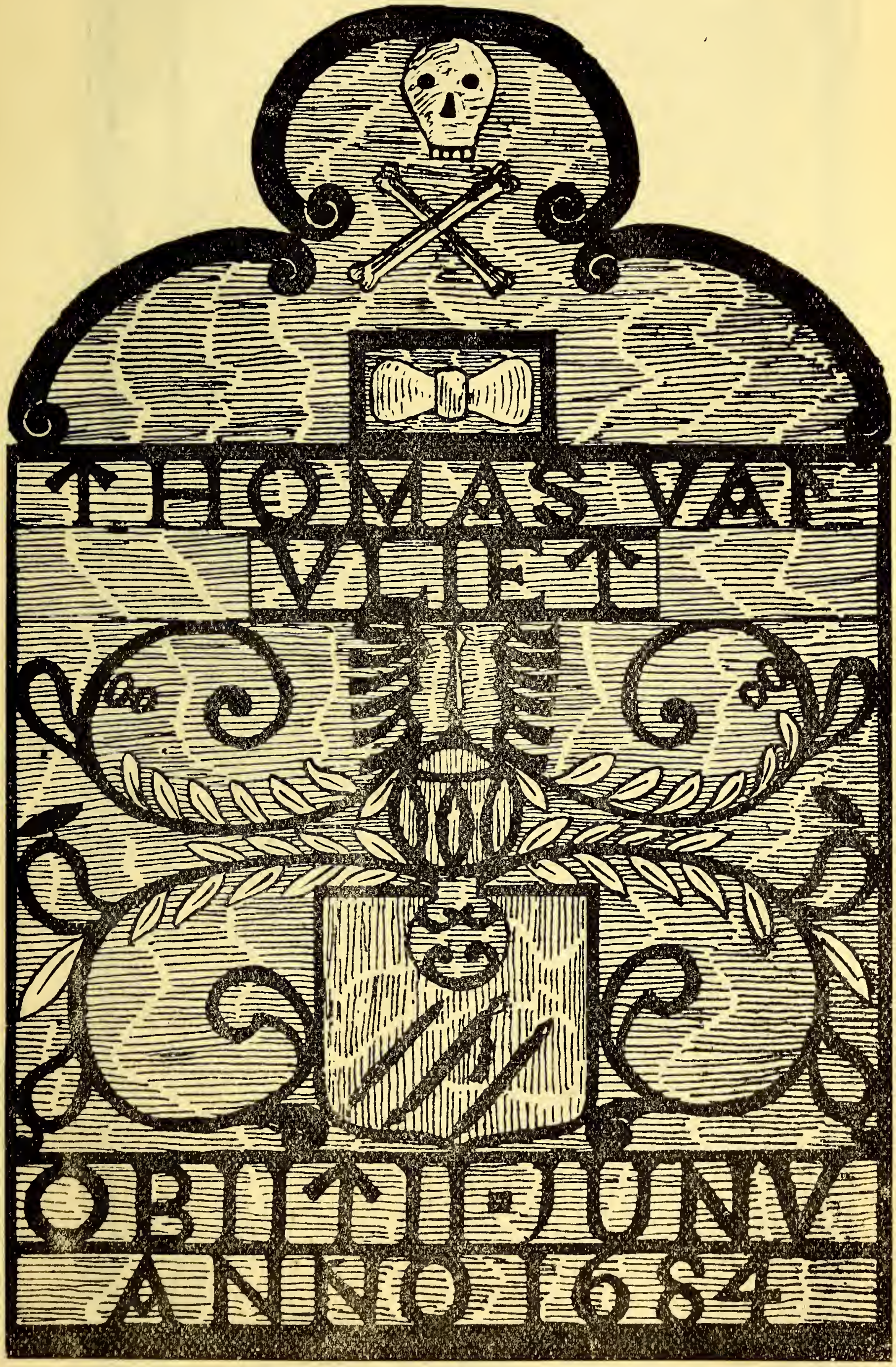

Plate I.

HIER ONDER RUST 'T LYK VAN D'
E: IOANNES STRICK ZAL:
IN SYN LEVEN ONDER COOPMAN
EN CASSIER ALHIER GEBOREN
IN 'T IAAR 1668 DEN 15 SEPTEMB.
EN OVERLEDEN DEN 7 IULY 1708
OUD 40 IAREN 9 MAANDEN
EN 23 DAGEN

Plate II.

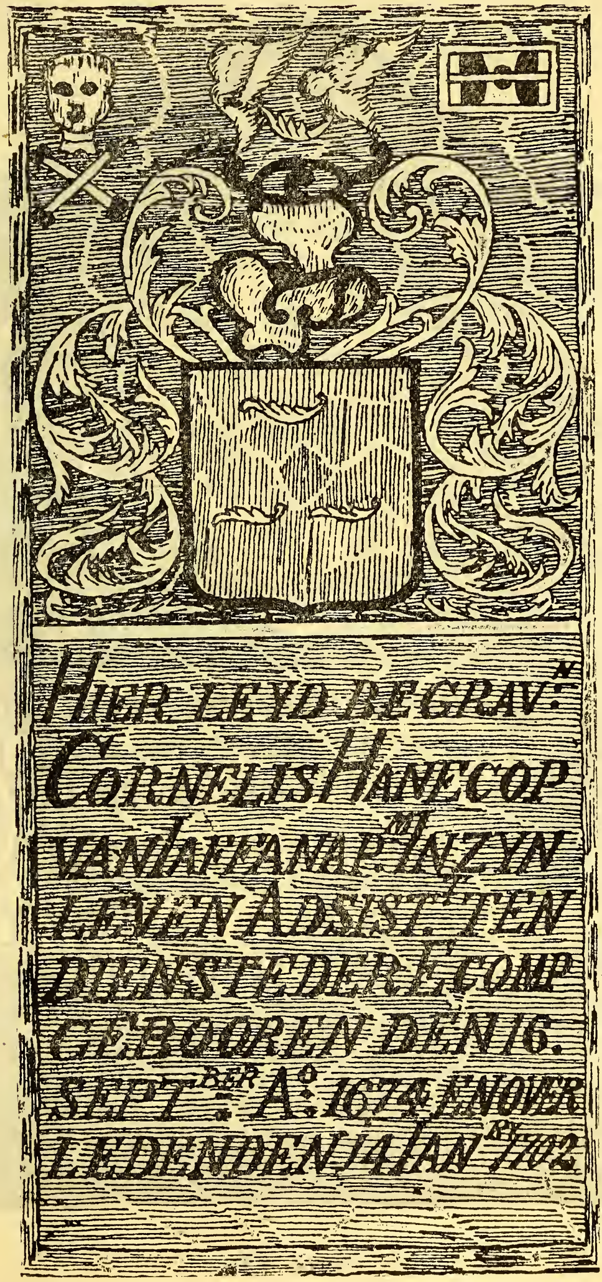
HIER LEYD BEGRAVN
CORNELIS HANECOP
VAN IAFFANAPM IN ZYN
LEVEN ADSIST. TEN
DIENSTE DER E. COMP
GEBOOREN DEN 16.
SEPTBER AO 1674 EN OVER
LEDEN DEN 14 IANRY 1702

Plate III.

FRIDWILH LIBERBARODE REDER
NAT GOLDBERGAEINSILESIA
D.XXV.MAII. MDCCVI
MORT JAFFANAPATNAMI
D.XXVI. MART.

Plate IV.

HIER ONDER RURTHET LYKVAN
MEJUFFROUW
ANNA ELIZABETH MOM
INLEVEN HUYSVROUW VANDEN
KOOPMANEN ADMINISTRATEUR ALHIER
DE HEER
IOANNES BARBERTUS VAN COEVERDEN
GEBOORENDEN 26 JULY 1723 EN
OVERLEEDENDEN 9! ZEPTEMBER 1777

Plate V.

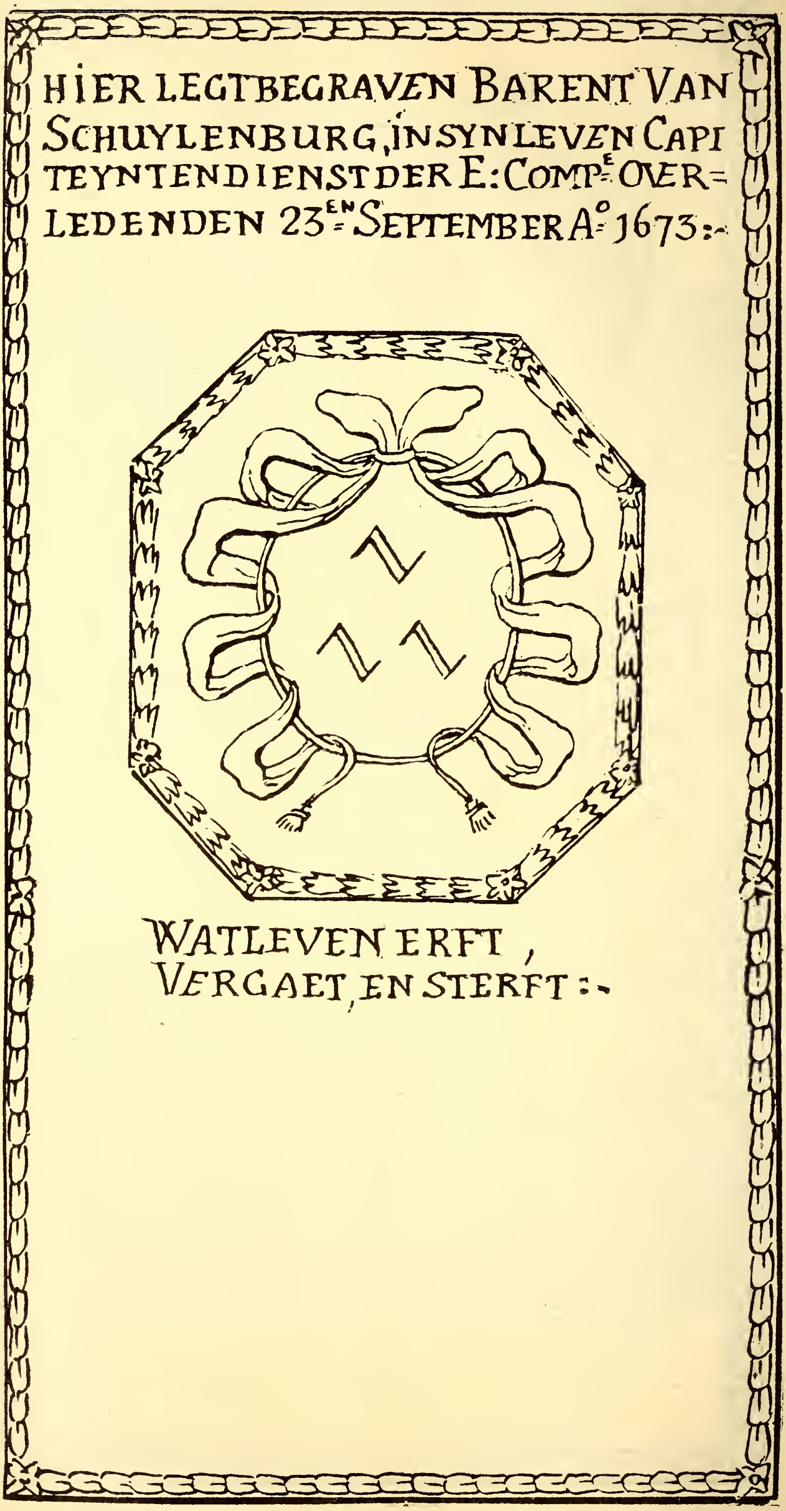
HIER LEGT BEGRAVEN BARENT VAN
SCHUYLENBURG, IN SYN LEVEN CAPI
TEYNTEN DIENST DER E: COMPE OVER=
LEDEN DEN 23EN SEPTEMBER Ao 1673:-
WAT LEVEN ERFT,
VERGAET, EN STERFT:-

Plate VI.

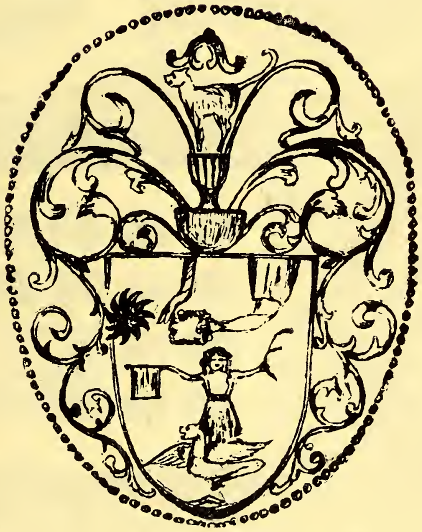

Plate VII.

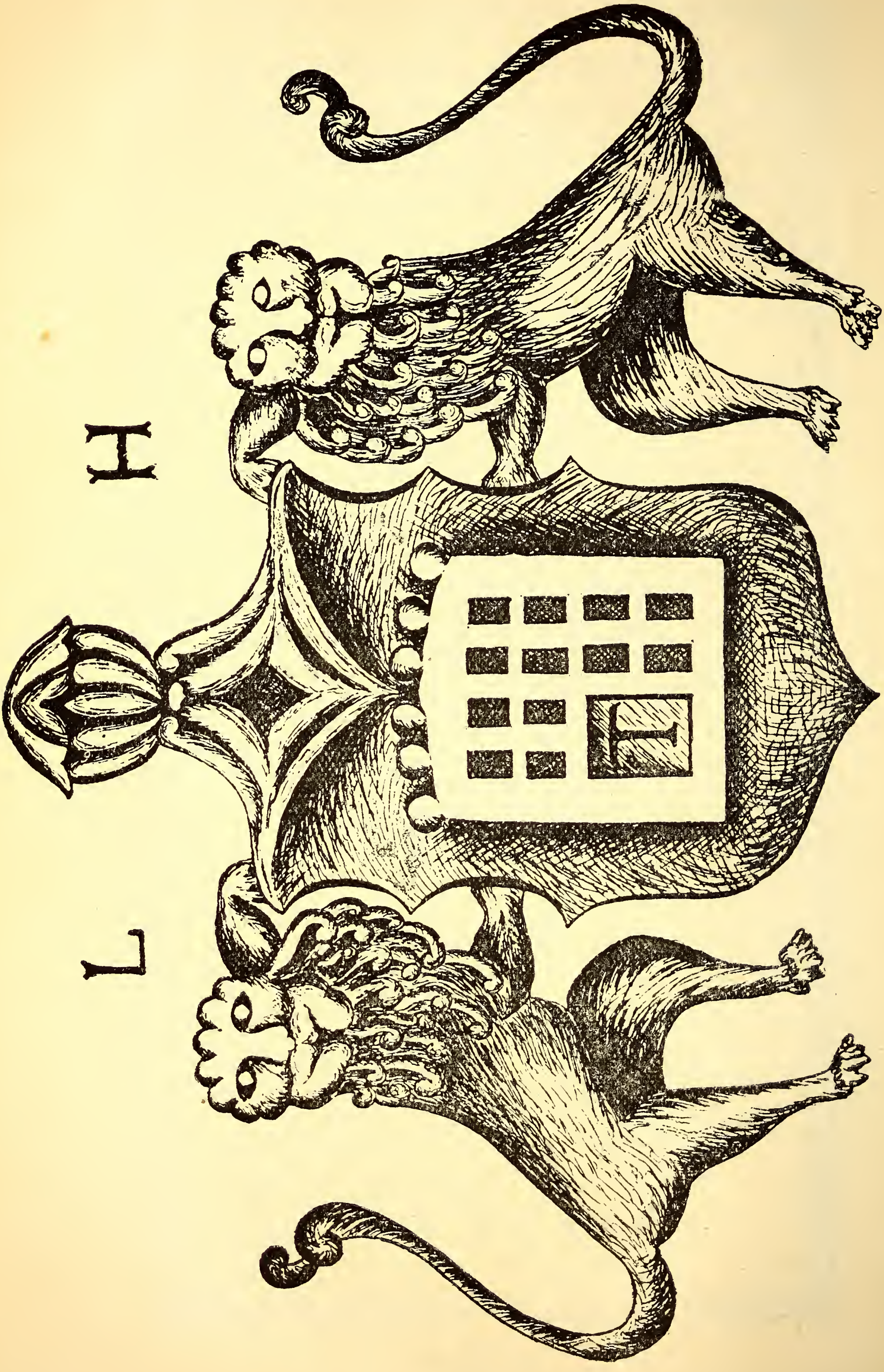

Plate VIII.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, August 1, 1903.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., F.R.C.J., Vice-President.

Mr. C. Batuwantudawa, Advocate.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Ven. F. H. de Winton, Archdeacon.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. I. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. P. D. Khan.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Sir W. W. Mitchell, C.M.G.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc. Lon., F.R.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors : Two ladies and eighteen gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of General Meeting held on March 9, 1903.

2. The election of the following Members since the last General Meeting was announced :—

(1) Mr. A. Van Der Poorten.
(2) Mr. J. B. Carruthers, F.L.S.
(3) Mr. F. Lushington.
(4) Mr. P. Rajaratnum, B.A.
(5) Mr. A. K. Coomaraswámy, B.Sc., F.L.S., F.G.S.
(6) Mr. A. J. Wickramasiṉha.

3. The following Paper was read by the author :—

DRAMATIC POETRY AND THE LITERATURE OF THE SINHALESE.

By W. Arthur de Silva, J.P.

A remarkable fact that strikes a student of Sin̥halese is the absence of dramatic poetry in its old literature. There is not even a mention made of a dramatic work in any of the books that are now in existence. A class of dramatic works in the Sin̥halese language, which hardly lays pretence to literary merit, has sprung up at a very recent date. These are written in imitation of Tamil and Gujaráṭi Indian dramas. With the exception of drama, the old literature of the Sin̥halese now in existence contains works of merit in all other branches of literary activity. The scholars of Ceylon in olden times were in communication with the chief centres of scholarship in India. Interchange of visits and of ideas and books are clearly seen. The more important Sin̥halese books bear a close relation to Sanskṛit works in their style and method of arrangement. Such well-known Sanskṛit dramatic works of merit as Sakuntalá, Úrvasi, Nágananda, Mudrárakshasa, Márichikathá, some of them depicting Buddhist ideas, must have been familiar to the scholars of the Island. Can it be possible that dramatic literature that existed in the Island was lost when the Tamil invaders destroyed the libraries of the Sin̥halese, or when King Rájasin̥ha collected and set fire to Sin̥halese works? But the books that have been rescued or preserved from this general destruction are of a varied character; or, were the dramatic works written by Sin̥halease authors of such an inferior order that they were soon forgotten or thrown away as worthless? Here, also, it is improbable that scholars who were able to produce poetical and other works of merit were not able to produce anything of equal merit in drama. Under these circumstances it has to be presumed that for some reason or other no dramatic literature was produced

by Sinhalese authors. Learning was confined to the Buddhist temples. The more important Sinhalese literary works have been composed by the Buddhist Bhikkhus, and the encouragement of drama was not compatible with their religious views. This may account for the absence of dramatic works in the old Sinhalese literature. Mr. R. W. Ievers, in his "Manual of the North-Central Province," p. 25, in summarizing the description of Anurádhapura given by the Chinese Bhikkhu Fa-Hian, writes: "The sacred tooth was publicly exposed on sacred days in the capital, and thence was carried in procession to the mountains without fear (Abhayagiri and Mihintalé), while dramatic representations of events in the life of Buddha, illustrated by scenery and costumes, were given."

The paragraph, if it is the correct rendering of what Bhikkhu Fa-Hian has written in describing Anurádhapura, shows the existence of sacred drama performed with scenery and costumes in Ceylon so far back as 414 A.D. However, on reference to the latest edition of the "Travels" by Bhikkhu Fa-Hian, translated by Prof. James Legge and published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1886, the passage referred to by Mr. Ievers reads quite differently. It does not in any sense give the slightest ground for the allegation that Fa-Hian witnessed any dramatic performance. It reads: ".........and when this proclamation is over the king exhibits so as to line both sides of the road the five hundred different bodily forms in which the Bódhisatava has in the course of his history appeared, here as Sudana, there as Sama, now as the king of elephants, and then as a stag or a horse. All these figures are brightly coloured and grandly executed, looking as if they were alive. After this the tooth of Buddha is brought forth and is carried along in the middle of the road. Everywhere on the way offerings are presented to it, and thus it arrives in the hall of Buddha in the Abhayagiri Vihára."

It appears that after the occupation of the Island by European nations old traditions and prejudices against

dramatic performances were gradually discarded by the people. At this period parties of players from South India found audiences among the Siṉhalese.

The Siṉhalese themselves organized performances in imitation of the Tamil plays and composed their own books. These books were mostly translations of Tamil ones. There are also a few adaptations of current popular stories. The plays were known as *náḍagam*, from the Tamil *náṭakam*. They were performed in many a town and village. In the villages it became a common amusement. Each village in turn took upon itself to put on the stage a *náḍagama;* the players were selected from among the residents; the stage was erected in some open space; the performances were continued for weeks together. There are still in many a village old men who recount their performances personating a king or prince or some hero in a *náḍagama* with the greatest pride. There are others who, through a distinguished performance of parts allotted to them, have ever after borne the name of the character they represented in the village *náḍagama*. The *náḍagama* is no more the popular performance it was some years since. A large proportion of *náḍagam* plays were written by uneducated authors. It is only at a very late stage of these compositions that one or two have been added to the list by authors with some learning.

At the time the *náḍagam* were getting into disfavour, another class of drama came to the front so late as the eighties. They are Indian *náṭyas*, popularly known in Ceylon as *nṛitya*. A number of dramatic works of this class has been composed in imitation of Gujaráṭi plays, and these came into popular favour through performances given in Colombo. In consequence of the advent of the two classes of dramatic performances mentioned above, viz., *náḍagam* and *náṭya*, a number of dramatic works have recently come into the Siṉhalese language. The works can in no way be classed as literature, though there are a few that have been composed with some skill.

We have now over twenty well-known *náḍagam* works printed and published in Siṉhalese. The arrangement of subject-matter in these works, the songs, verses, and *dramatis personæ*, bear a close resemblance to each other. There are two plays connected with the history of Ceylon: the Siṉhawalli and Ẹhẹlapola. The Siṉhawalli *náḍagama* relates the origin of the Siṉhalese race from the so-called descendants of the lion of the Waṉga country; the Ẹhẹlapola *náḍagama* depicts the last act in the Siṉhalese history and the incidents that took place in 1815 prior to the acquirement of the Kandyan territories by the English Government. Both these works have been compiled by one Philippu Siñño, a man who was known as a singer and composer, and who is said to be the first author of a Siṉhalese *náḍagam*. Philippu Siñño died in Colombo about the year 1850, and is said to have been about eighty years of age at the time of his death. He lived in the early English period, and was an uneducated blacksmith who worked in his smithy daily. The man had associated with South Indian players and had picked up their music and songs. He composed the *náḍagam* in imitation of the Tamil works. The songs and words for his *náḍagam* were, it is said, mostly composed while at work in his shop. They were daily traced on the walls of the smithy with a piece of charcoal; after the day's work was over the notes thus made on the walls were committed to paper. The following day a fresh crop of songs and verses were again put on the wall.

The following is a list of *náḍagam* works attributed to his authorship: Siṉhawalli, Ẹhẹlapola, St. Josephat, Susew, Helena, St. Nicholas, Visvakarma, Wurtagam, Mátálam, Senagappu, Three Kings, Sulambáwati.

Philippu Siñño was a Roman Catholic by religion, and his introductory invocations are composed to agree with his religious views, with a mixture of Buddhist and Hindu forms. Except perhaps Ẹhẹlapola, which is based on current events of the time, the rest of the works are adaptations from

existing common works and poems. Siṇhawalli and Sulambáwati are adapted from Siyabasmaldama and Sulambáwatikatáwa, both Siṇhalese poems that were commonly read at the time. Four of the works—St. Josephat, Susew, Helena, St. Nicholas—are from Catholic sacred history, and the rest are mostly translations of Tamil *náṭakam.* The combination of religious beliefs, where in the same work Buddhism, Christianity, and Hinduism are put under contribution in the introductory invocations by the author, betray the readiness which the uneducated display in believing everything which may be popularly brought before them. Siṇhawalli bears quotation not only as showing the common mixture of religious ideas, but also the language which was used in the composition of these dramas. The language is a mixture of Sanskrit and Siṇhalese words selected more for their high sounds and pedantic display than with any view of elegance of style or expression of thought. It is noteworthy that the names of two of the masters of Siṇhalese poetry, as Vídágama and Toṭagamuwe, have been cited as the authors from whom the words are followed. The names Vídágama and Toṭagamuwe are household words among the Siṇhalese; they are the names of two places where the two most popular and best known authors, Mahánétramúla Sthavira of Vídágama and Váchissa Ráhula Sthavira of Toṭagamuwa lived. The writer of these *náḍagam* works could not have been familiar with any of the poems of these authors, and much less with the rules of Siṇhalese prosody.

The following are the four verses of the prologue in the *Siṇhawalli Náḍagama:—*

සර්ව ප්‍රාණ ත්‍රින අර්ථ(?) පදාර්ථ(?) ශ්‍රෂ්ටිකල(?) සුමුල න්
සරුව බල මහිමෝත්ම දේවාති දෙවිතුම න්
දුරුව සියලුම දෝස යොමා දිව කුළුණයෙ න්
අත්ව ඔබ ශ්‍රීවාද දිනන්ත්‍ර මා රැකදෙව න්

Sarwa praṇa trina arta(?) padárta(?) ṣrashṭikala sumulan
Saruwa bala mahimótma déváti devituman
Duruwa siyaluma dósa yomá diva kuluṇayen
Atwa oba sríváda dinantra má ṛekadevan.

The great and all-powerful god of gods (who) made all living beings, plants, meanings, and words, remove all my faults by extending to me your divine kindness, and make me the possessor of your speech, and protect me from day to day.

බුත්සරණ දම්සරණ සඟසරණ ප්‍රත්‍යක්‍ෂ නෙර්මිත වන්ද නා
අධ්‍යන්ත රම්‍යවූ අනඳමහතෙරිඳුටත් කෙලවරක සඟසරණ අත්වෙ නා
සත්ගුණවූ පෙරද විසු ප්‍රාක්‍රම කතිකවූ ගුරුන්ගේ සරණි නා
යුත්වූ මෙම යුග පැවති ගුරු සැවොම කවි වැරදි කමාවී අසනු යටත්වෙමි බැතියෙ නා

Butsarana damsarana sañgasarana pratyáksha nermita wandaná
Adhyanta ramyavú Anadamahateriñdutat kelawaraka sañgasarana atwená
Satgunavu perada visu prákkrama katikavú gurunge saraniná
Yutvu mema yugapevati guru sevoma kavi veradi kamáví asanu yatatvemi betiyená.

I worship in proper form the Buddha, Dharma (law), and Sangha (order), and the extremely noble great Théró Ánanda, and seek the guidance of the Sangha (order), and the teachers of the age who exist by the guidance of the virtuous, powerful, and eloquent of old. I prostrate before you with reverence and crave you to listen to my verse and overlook its shortcomings.

තුන්ග වන්සාදිපති රාජඟමය දිරපුර අබ්‍යන්තර බ්‍රමණකර වැජබෙමි න්
වන්ග දෙස රජකරණ වගුනිරිඳු ලත් මායාවතිකුමරි සිහ රජුට අග්‍රවූබිසොවෙමි න්
අන්ග වීර සුර සිංහබාකුමරු සිංහවල්ලි ජාතවී කෙසර පිය විද මරා රජවෙමි න්
ගන්ගදර වෙනි දසදෙසට කීර්තිසිංහල උපත වර්දනය මින් පට න්

Tunga wansádipati rájanggamaya dírapura abyantara bramanakara wejabemin
Wanggadesa rajakarana Waguniriñdu lat Máyávatikumari Siharajuta agravú bisovemin
Anggawíra sura Sinhabákumaru Sinhawalli játaví kesara piya vida mará rajávemin
Ganggadara veni dasadesata kírti Sinhala upata wardanaya min patan.

Princess Máyáwati, daughter of King Wagu of the royal house of the great and noble descent, who lived in great splendour, shedding a lustre beyond his city, and reigning in the Wanga country, became the chief queen of the Sinha King; and her children, the great divine-formed Sinhabá and Sinhawalli, killed the Sinha King, and obtaining the kingdom became the origin of the great Sinhalese race, whose fame has spread in the ten directions like that of the god Ganggadhara.

ති මි ර ය ට පැහැදිමය දිපමෙන් එළුවදන ව්‍රත තේරුන්ව
සිහිපරික්ෂාගෙන නැ නා
පෙමැතිතු ට පෙර පැවති පුවත දැන සවන්දී මහත්වූ මන්ප්‍රිය
වඩව නා
එළු පද ට ප්‍රතම කිත් විදාගම තොටගමද කවීශ්වර පබඳවූ
වදනෙ නා
නාටකය ට සැරසු කිවිරාගයෙන් සිංහවල්ලි නතරැස්ත
වනම් සබෙ බැතියෙ නා

Timirayaṭa pẹhẹdimaya dípamén Eḷuwadana wrata térunwa sihiparikshágena nẹná
Pemẹtituṭa pera pẹvati puwata dẹna savandí mahatwú manpriya waḍawaná
Eḷupadaṭa pratama kit Vídágama Toṭagamada kavíswara pabaňdavú wadanená
Náṭakayaṭa sẹrasu kivirágayen Siṉhawalli natarẹsta vanami sabe bẹtiyená

Having heard with great delight and loving satisfaction the venerable story, and understanding it as clearly as if a lighted lamp had dispelled darkness, I sing with pleasure in public the story of Siṉhawalli, dramatized in the language of Wídágama and Toṭagamuwe, the great poets renowned for their knowledge of Eḷu verses.

As regards Ẹhẹlapola Náḍagama, if the author had not been so hopelessly ignorant and uneducated he would have been in a position to know the incidents connected with the deposition of the last Kandyan King. Ṣrí Wikrama Rája Siṉha is depicted in the work as a cruel and inhuman monarch hated by the Siṉhalese. The one note that is struck throughout the whole work is that the king, being a Dravidian Waḍuga, the Siṉhalese were disgraced by allowing him to ascend the throne; he is continually mentioned as the Waḍuga foreigner. The imposition of new taxes and the undertaking of large and useless public works are attributed to the king as having specially pressed on the people. The drama brings all incidents—the capture of the Kandyan King, the banishment of Ẹhẹlapola Adigár, and the rising of the people under the Chiefs Maḍugalle and Kẹppeṭipola—together as events succeeding each other within a few days.

There are a few other *náḍagam* works. The Kusa Náḍagama and Wessantara Náḍagama are based on the two familiar Játaka stories. They display a certain amount of literary skill in their composition. A *náḍagam* play is not divided into acts and scenes, and commences with a prologue.

which is usually written in the form of verses with high sounding words, and invoking the blessings of gods and the support of the audience. Next come the clowns; before they appear on the stage the manager describes them in a verse, *viriduwa*, and introduces them; they dance and sing. Next is introduced a young and accomplished student, who is expected to be refined in his tastesin contrast, to the clowns, and who sings and dances to sustain that character. Then come the prophets or the learned men, who are introduced with due gravity, and who repeat in short verses the plot of the story and the moral to be derived from it.

The story is next started; the kings and the queens are always preceded by the criers and pages. Each time a new character appears or a new incident takes place, the manager explains it in a verse. The words in a *náḍagama* consist of four-lined verses and songs of different metres and a few conversational sentences.

The second class of plays, *náṭya*, are of more recent origin. The following are some of the best-known *náṭya* in Sinhalese: Indrasabhá, Sañdawatí, Kálidás, Rámáyana, Romlin, Romeo and Juliet, Rubina, Eugene and Milan, Brumford, Three Sisters, Nala, Sinhawalli, Orison, Daskon, Aladin, Ali Baba, Ẹhẹlapola, Harischandra, Sirisañgabó.

The plots of these plays are mostly derived from popular stories. Sinhawalli, Ẹhẹlapola, and Harischandra appear also in the form of *náḍagam;* Kálidása, Rámáyana, and Nala are from Indian stories; Aladin, Ali Baba, and Three Sisters are from the Arabian Nights Stories; others, such as Romeo and Juliet, are from the English. There is an arrangement of acts and scenes in the *nátya* plays which is entirely absent in the *náḍagam*. These plays on account of the scenery and the new music introduced through them, became popular among the Sinhalese, and displaced the older *náḍagam* to a great extent. Mr. C. Don Bastian of Colombo is the first to compose this class of drama, and, among others, Mr. John de Silva has added a number of popular historical plays to the list.

Mr. HARWARD said Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, who was unable to be present, had forwarded some written remarks, but he thought it would be hardly regular for him to read the Paper. It was decided that the letter should be forwarded to Mr. Bell, who edits the Society's Journal, in order that portions of it might be embodied in the Paper as published.*

Mr. E. W. PERERA said he rather demurred to the introductory portion of Mr. de Silva's Paper. There were distinct allusions to the drama having existed in early Sinhalese times (vide *Maháwansa*, chap. X., v. 87). In the history of the 12th century mention was made not only of strolling players, but also of theatres and performances (*Maháwansa*, chap. LXVI., v. 133; *id.*, chap. LXXIII., vv. 82 to 86). The present day drama (Sin. *nadagam*), which he took it was derived from the Sanskrit (*cf.* Skt. *natakam;* Prakrit *nado*), as acted in the South, was essentially Sinhalese in character. There were other departments of Sinhalese drama (*rukada netima*, "marionettes"), in which the ordinary avocations of village life were represented, and *kolan netima*, "comic dances," where masked players imitated the antics of wild animals.

The PRESIDENT: I think the last speaker's remarks are distinctly interesting as an addition to the Paper. I am afraid it is not a subject that I know anything about, but when Mr. de Silva was reading his Paper it struck me as curious that a nation such as the Sinhalese should not have had early dramatic poetry. On the other hand, I think Mr. de Silva's point that he might almost presume that there are no written records of the early dramas is also a curious point. In the last speaker's remarks I was struck by his reference to plays taking the form of animal shows and representations of the ordinary village life. These, of course, are the forms of dramatic performances which occur all over the world in the early stages of civilization, and we should certainly expect to find them in Ceylon; and I cannot help thinking that a little more research on the part of some Members of this Society will find that a clear record has been left of early dramatic literature amongst the Sinhalese.

Mr. HARWARD said that those who had studied the history of the Parakráma period would perhaps incline to the view that there undoubtedly was a drama in Ceylon at the period mentioned, but that it was a drama performed by Indian performers, and probably in the original Sanskrit. He had little doubt that the masterpieces of the Sanskrit drama were performed in Ceylon, and, in support of this, he pointed to the Sanskrit coinage and the Indian architecture in Ceylon at that period.

Mr. C. M. FERNANDO said that ten years ago he had read a Paper there on Music in Ceylon, and he had promised to read another Paper on Sinhalese Music. He had always halted at that point. It was difficult to separate what was exclusively Sinhalese from what was Indian. It was difficult to say where Indian began and where Sinhalese ended. He would not go so far as Mr. Harward and say that the old dramatic literature was entirely Indian. It was Indian and Ceylon interwoven one with the other. Their life was so bound up one with another it was difficult to separate Indian from Ceylon ideas.

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* Published in the Appendix.

With regard to the argument founded on the Sanskrit characters on ancient coins, some one 500 years hence might say with equal effect that the language talked when Ceylon was governed by the British was Latin, because the Latin language appeared on our present coinage. Ceylon had been a very rich country, and had been the object of rapacity by other nations, and the old libraries were burned and very little remained. What does remain is what the Buddhist monks translated from Siṇhalese into Páli, and now they were turning them back from Páli into Siṇhalese. (Hear, hear.)

The PRESIDENT : I hope the last speaker will not halt any longer at the point of thinking about telling us something about Siṇhalese music. I think the difficulty of distinguishing it from Indian music is one which he could probably solve, and I hope that he will oblige us with a Paper. (Hear, hear.)

After a brief reply by Mr. de Silva the discussion on this Paper closed.

4. Mr. HARWARD, in the absence of Mr. F. H. de Vos, read extracts from the following Paper :—

THREE FUNERALS OF CEYLON DUTCH OFFICIALS IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Translated from the Dutch and annotated by F. H. DE VOS, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden.

ROBERTUS CRAMER, a native of Amsterdam, was Superintendent of the Galle corle *circa* 1735, Chief of Trincomalee *circa* 1743, and Dissave of Colombo *circa* 1755, in succession to Peter Elders Schuttrup. He died in Colombo on the 23rd October, 1760, and was buried there. The following is an account of his funeral (translated from the Dutch), to be found in Part X. (1761), pages 208 to 212, of the *Nederlandsch Mercurius*. I have not been able to get in Ceylon any particulars of the parentage of Robertus Cramer. He was twice married—firstly to Elizabeth Steenhuysen; and secondly, in 1751, to Magdalena Elizabeth van Hek of Jaffna, widow of François van de Rondewerken. By his first wife he had: (1) Hendrik, born in Galle, 1735; and (2) Catharina Magdalena, born in Galle in 1737. The issue of the second bed were (3) Maria Elizabeth, born in Colombo, 1755, married Matheus Petrus Rakat; (4) Anna Henrietta, born in Colombo, 1757; and (5) Magdalena Theodora, born in Colombo, 1759. There were other families of the name of Cramer settled in Ceylon in the Dutch period, viz., Johannes Cramer of Batavia (1736), Adriaan de Cramer of Leyden (1707), and Johannes Bernardus Cramer of Wezel (1757). Of the Cramers present at the funeral Mattheus Robertus Cramer, Dirk Cramer, and Gerbrand Cramer were probably the sons of Robertus Cramer. Hendrik Cramer (his son) was an *Onderkoopman* in 1758, and Storekeeper, Tuticorin, 1777, and was married in Galle, 5th April, 1760, a few months before the death of his father, to Cornelia Elsebe de Salve, born in Galle, 1740,

daughter of Pierre de Salve of Leemond, Chief of Mannár, and Johanna Catharina Meyer. The children of Hendrik Cramer were: (1) Pierre Robertus Marcus, born in Galle, 1765; (2) Magdalena Henrietta, born in Tuticorin, 1771; and (3) Johan Hendrik Gerrard, born in Tuticorin, 1774. Hendrik Cramer died in 1787.

As was and is customary on such occasions, the relations of the deceased followed next to the hearse. Of these, leaving out the Cramers (one of whom was certainly, and the others probably, sons), Henricus Leembruggen was the son-in-law and Mattheus van Hek the father-in-law of the deceased. What relation Johannes Blauwestein was to Robertus Cramer I have not been able to ascertain. There was in 1756 one Johannes Blauwestein, Chief Storekeeper of Colombo, who was married to Maria Elizabeth Cortsz, and had by her a son, Joris Johannes, born in Colombo in 1720. Johannes was probably the son of Joris Blauwestein of Rotterdam, *Voorlezer* in Colombo in 1688, and who died before the 14th February, 1697, as on that day his widow, Anna van Ravensway of Hertogenbosch, was married to Martinus Leermans of Dordrecht, an *assistent* in the Dutch service.

TRANSLATION.

The Funeral of Robertus Cramer, Opperkoopman and Dissave of the Lands of Colombo.

On the 23rd October, 1760, there died in Colombo Mr. Robertus Cramer, *Opperkoopman* and Dissave of the Lands of Colombo. The funeral was attended by the following persons:—

There marched in advance a company of Lascoreens of the Attepattoe, in command of the Muhandiram Domingo de Saram, and followed by two more companies from the Aloetkoer and Salpitty corles, with the sound of cymbals and with standards.

A company of the military, 48 strong, in command of a Captain-Lieutenant, and an Ensign with the third standard, 2 sergeants, 2 drummers, and 2 fifers, the spontoons, belts, the standard, and the halberds overhung with crape, and the drums with black cloth.

The *Onderkoopman* Johannes Philip Stork carrying the arms of the deceased.

[Johannes Philip Stork (son of Gerrard Willem Stork, Burgomaster of Oldenzaal, and Agnita Potken) was born in Oldenzaal, 12th November, 1719, and died in Colombo on the 16th November, 1785, having left issue by his wife Petronella Elizabeth Fabricius.]

Six *aanspreekers* (*i.e.*, persons who called out the names of the persons in the order in which they were to follow the hearse) in mourning with trailing cloaks.

The body of the deceased (the coffin) overhung with the four quarterings of his arms and on the same his sword.

Mattheus Robertus Cramer.

Hendrik Cramer.

Henricus Leembruggen.

[Henricus Leembruggen (son of Johan Leembruggen of Leyden and Wilhelmina Bloteling of the Hague) was born in Leyden in 1721 and died about the year 1783. He was Private Secretary to Governor Steyn van Gollenesse in 1744, afterwards Chief of the Cinnamon Department, Dissave of Colombo, &c., and was four times married; secondly, on the 8th October, 1744, to Dina Cramer of Cochin, daughter of Robertus Cramer.]

Mattheus van Hek.

[Mattheus van Hek, born in Galle in 1709, Thombo-holder of Jaffna, was married to Elizabeth van der Spar. Their daughter Magdalena Elizabeth married (1) François van de Rondewerken, and (2), on the 9th May, 1751, Robertus Cramer. Mattheus van Hek was the son of Leonard van Hek, *Administrateur* of Galle, and Maria Speelder, and the grandson of Isaac van Hek of Schoonhoven, Storekeeper, Colombo, and Johanna van Veen of Alkmaar.]

Dirk Cramer.

Gerbrand Cramer.

Johannes Blauwestein.

The Hon., &c., Jan Schreuder, Extraordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon and the Dependencies thereof.

[Jan Schreuder was a Hamburger. He was born on the 12th February, 1704, and died in Batavia 16th January, 1764. He was married in Batavia to Clara Gertruida de la Haye, born in Batavia, 15th November, 1729, died there 1769, and had by her (1) Cornelis Valentyn, born in Batavia, 3rd December, 1751, who married secondly, 23rd December, 1777, Lady Catharine van Rappard; (2) Hubert Jan, born in Colombo, 4th February, 1759.

Susanna Engelberta, his daughter, born to him when Director of Surat, was most probably the daughter of a previous marriage (*Lapidarium Zeylanicum*, p. 26). *Eschels Kroon*, Beschryving van het Eiland Sumatra (Aanhanzel), Haarlem, 1783, p. 170, says that Schreuder began life as a common soldier.]

The Hon. Godfreid Cretsman (Kretschmar ?).

The Hon. Jan Bauert, *Opperkoopman*.

[Jan Bauert was a native of Treptouw in Mecklenberg. He was Lieutenant and Chief of the Fort of Kalutara, and for some time Dissave of Matara, and married in 1744 Catharina Berghuys. His son Julius Valentyn was married to Maria Magdalena Potken, and was thus allied by marriage to Johannes Philip Stork, who carried the arms of the deceased.]

Pieter Libert Smidt, *Koopman* and Chief Storekeeper.

[See Journals, R.A.S., C.B., No. 49, Vol. XV., p. 230, and No. 52, Vol. XVII., p. 17.]

Wouter Rudolph van Sanden, *Koopman* and Fiscal.

[Wouter Rudolph van Sanden was married to Wilhelmina Margarita d'Everdingen van der Nypoort.]

Hendrik van der Hof, *Koopman* and *Soldy-Boekhouder*.

[He was afterwards Storekeeper of Colombo, and retired with the rank of a *Koopman*.]

Lieve Nicolaas Meyboom, *Koopman* and *Negotie-Boekhouder*.

[He was expected in Ceylon from Batavia in 1759.]

Huybert Hoogerwaard, *Koopman*.

[*Onderkoopman*, 1732; Chief of the Mahabadde, Colombo, 1748; *Koopman*, 1753; Chief of Calpentyn, 1755; *Administrateur*, Jaffna, 1762, where he died about the year 1766.]

Joan Hugonis, *Koopman* and *Secretaris.*

[Joan Hugonis was a native of Stockholm, and was married in Colombo in 1756 to Arnoldina Wilhelmina Fabricius of Byteveld, widow of Harmanus Meutz of Amsterdam, *Onderkoopman*, and daughter of the Rev. Arnoldus Wilhelmus Fabricius.]

Frederick Rohne.

Hendrik Jallink.

Leonard van Hek.

Johannes van Hek.

Isaac van Hek.

[Isaac van Hek was brother of Leonard van Hek, and was born in Tuticorin, 1692. Another Isaac van Hek was born in 1721, being the child of Adriaan van Hek and nephew of Leonard van Hek, who was *Secretaris* of the Orphan Chamber, Jaffna, in 1762.]

Jurgen van der Spar.

[*Opperkoopman* and Chief *Administrateur*, Colombo, 1741; Extraordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies, 1748; Ordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies and President of the Orphan Chamber, Batavia, 1753; died 5th February, 1766. In 1750 he attended the funeral of Baron van Imhoff.]

Philippus van der Spar.

[Resident of Point Pedro, 1756. He died in 1793. There was another Philippus van der Spar, who was a *Boekhouder* and *Secretaris van Justitie*, Jaffna, in 1731, and afterwards *Administrateur* there, where he died in 1762.]

Lourens van der Spar.

[Storekeeper, Jaffna, 1747; Thombo-holder, 1755. He was born in Galle, 1716, being the son of Johannes van der Spar and Anna Verwyk, and brother of Maria Magdalena van der Spar, born 1711, and Anna van der Spar, born 1715.]

Engelbert de Moor.

[*Boekhouder*, Colombo, 1730; *Secretaris* of the Orphan Chamber, 1733. He was born in 1706, being the son of Pieter de Moor of the Hague, who came out to Ceylon in 1700 in the ship "Ryggersdal," and Johanna Obrak of Kalutara, most probably the daughter of Arent Obrak of Amsterdam. Engelbert was twice married, (1) in 1731 to Plantina van de Rondewerken and (2) in 1756 to Anna van Geyzel.]

Barent Kriekenbeek.

[*Secretaris van Politie*, Colombo, 1739; *Onderkoopman*, 1756; Member of the Landraad, Colombo, 1760; Superintendent of the Iron Magazine, 1761; *Secretaris van Justitie*, 1762; retired in 1772 with the rank of *Onderkoopman*, and died in 1778. Barent was born in Colombo, 25th August, 1712, being the son of Marinus Petrus Kriekenbeek and Susanna de Bruyn, and the grandson of Rutgerus Kriekenbeek of Wyk by Duurstide, the original settler, who came out in 1659 by the ship "Zeelandia." Barent was twice married, (1) in 1736 to Catharina Ritmeyer and (2) in 1747 to Cornelia Dominicus.]

Dirk Berghuys.

[Dirk Berghuys, Chief Surgeon, was (about 1720) married to Adrianna Swinnas, and was stationed in Galle, 1721–33.]

Willem van Gent.

Mattheus van der Spar.

[Mattheus van der Spar, born in Jaffna, 19th May, 1730; died in Galle, 24th November, 1806, where he was *Administrateur;* was first married in Galle, 20th February, 1757, to Dorothea Cornelia van Dam of Colombo, daughter of Christiaan van Dam of Tuticorin and Anna Driemont of Batavia. He married (2) in Colombo, 29th July, 1781, Johanna Gertruida Fybrandsz, daughter of the Rev. Johan Joachim Fybrandsz. The only child of the second marriage was Johan Joachim van der Spar, Consul for the Netherlands and merchant in Galle.]

Johannes van der Spar.

[Born in Jaffna, 1733, was brother of Mattheus. He was *Consumptie Boekhouder* in the office of the Dissave, Galle, 1760; *Consumptie Boekhouder*, Mannár, 1780; Chief Clerk of *Politie*, Jaffna, 1783; and died in 1802. He married in Galle, 4th May, 1760, (1) Adriana Dorothea van Bern, born in Colombo, 1744, daughter of Hermanus van Bern Bellingerwoldeschans, Dissave, Colombo, died there 1746, and Elizabeth Wilhelmina Driemont of Tuticorin, born 19th October, 1724, daughter of Paulus Driemont, Chief of Manapaar, and Dorothea Maria Sonderburg. Johannes van der Spar married (2) Anna Henrietta Dormieux, widow of Abraham Evert Lebeck.]

Adrianus van der Spar.

Justinus van der Spar.

[Justinus van der Spar, *Secretaris van Justitie*, Jaffna, was married to Maria Petronella Dormieux, half-sister of Anna Henrietta Dormieux, wife of Johannes van der Spar.]

Jacobus Gysbertus Ladenius.

[Born in Colombo, 1731; son of Hermanus Ladenius of Leeuwaarden, an Ensign in the Dutch Service, and Susanna Elizabeth de la Croix.]

Barent Cramer.

Bartholomeus Jacobus Raket.

Isaak Adrianus Raket.

Elias Raket.

Daniel Raket.

Mattheus Raket.

[Bartholomeus Jacobus Raket, *Commandeur* of Jaffna, was married in 1785 to Susanna Elizabeth Mooyaart. Isaac Adrianus was perhaps his brother. Elias Raket was a *Boekhouder*, 1752; Superintendent of the Arecanut Department, 1770; and *Onderkoopman*, 1786. Daniel Raket, *Boekhouder*, was born in Jaffna, and married (1773) Ester Elizabeth van Breen. Mattheus Petrus Raket was married to Maria Elizabeth Cramer, and was therefore the son-in-law of the deceased. All these five persons were probably the sons of Jan Helfrig Raket, Chief of Mannár, and Magdalena Swinnas.]

Willem Adriaan Berghuys.

[Second *Visitateur*, Colombo, 1767, and died 1792. He was born in Galle in 1733, being the son of Dirk Berghuys and Adriana Swinnas.]

Pieter Spiering.

[*Onderkoopman*; born in Vlissingen (Flushing); married 24th December, 1747, Magdalena Elizabeth Raket of Jaffna. He repatriated in 1762.]

Gabriel Potken.

[*Cassier*, Colombo, 1750; *Dispencier*, 1756. Gabriel (Willem) Potken was born in Colombo, 1723, and was the son of Gerrardus Potken of Oldenzaal, *Predikant*, and Sophia Magdalena Ecoma. He was married 11th July, 1751, to Henrietta Auberta Raket of Jaffna.]

Barent Alleman.

[Barent Alleman of Ligten, Chief Surgeon, was married in 1759 to Gertruida Adriana Bouwman, born in Galle, 1740, daughter of Jacobus Bouwman, Chief Storekeeper, Galle, and Maria Elizabeth Berghuys.]

Gerrit Joan de Moor.

Joost Pieter de Moor.

Pieter de Moor.

[Gerrit Joan de Moor, Second Storekeeper, 1770, Galle, born in 1732, was son of Engelbert de Moor and Plantina van de Rondewerken. Joost Pieter de Moor, born in 1734, was his younger brother. Pieter (Arent) de Moor was his cousin].

Hendrik Diederick Dias de Fonseca.

[Hendrik Diederik Dias de Fonseca of Palliacat, *Onderkoopman*, died in Colombo, 1785. He was married (1) in 1767 to Hester Catharina Kriekenbeek, and (2) in 1776 to Anna Elizabeth Leembruggen.]

Rev. Gerrardus Potken.

Rev. Sigisbertus Bronsveld.

Rev. Joan Joachim Fybrandsz.

[Son of Joan Fybrandsz and Anne d'Almeida.]

Rev. Johannes Jacobus Meyer.

Rev. Juriaan Ondaatje.

[Married Hermina Quint, and was father of Quint Ondaatje, born 18th June, 1758; baptized on the 25th June, 1758, under the name of Pieter Philip, which he afterwards, on the death of his maternal grandfather, changed into Quint.]

Rev. Hendrik Philipsz.

[Hendrik Philipsz, born in 1733, died 19th May, 1790, was son of Philip Philipsz Panditaratne, Máha Mudaliyár. Hendrik Philipsz married (1) 4th November, 1759, Susanna Scharff, daughter of Jan Christoffel Scharff of Sangerhausen and Elizabeth de Saram. He married (2) 19th June, 1785, Anna Maria Cabraal, widow of the Mudaliyár Don Simon.]

Rev. Pieter Cornelisz.

The Pangerang Soerix de Kosema.

The Pangerang Mas de Kosema.

The Pangerang Poerbaaya.

[These last three were no doubt some Javanese officers.]

The gallant Captain (Military) Joan Hartoem.

[Lieutenant, Colombo, 1756; Captain, Jaffna, 1757; Major, Jaffna, 1771; died 1777.]

The gallant Captain (Military) Godfried Leonard de Coste.

[Dissave, 1765; *Opperkoopman* and titular Chief *Administrateur*, 1768; died 1774. A native of Gera, was married (1), 1752, to Elizabeth Victoria Thomasz, and (2) in 1759 to Anna Gertruida Laurentsz of Colombo, widow of the Acting Dissave of Matara, Johannes Frdinandus Crystman.]

The gallant Captain-Lieutenant (Military) Jan Diederick Fedder.

[*Assistent*, Galle, 1739; *Koopman*, Matara, 1746; Lieutenant-Dissave, Matara, 1746; same in Colombo, 1756; a native of Sleswyk; was married in 1739 to Francina van Geyzen.]

The gallant Captain-Lieutenant (Military) Frans Eykman.

[A native of Barentrop, was married (2) in 1755 to Susanna Storm of Amsterdam, widow of Clement Pantly.]

The gallant Captain-Lieutenant (Military) Jonas Orelius, Customs Master.

[A native of Carlskrona (Sweden); married, 1743, Getruida de Moor, daughter of Pieter de Moor and Johanna Obrak.]

The gallant Captain-Lieutenant (Military) Cornelis van der Stam.

The gallant Captain-Lieutenant (Military) Godfried Wetzel, Chief of the Artillery.

The Captain-Lieutenant (Military) Wilhelmus Philippus van Cuylenburg, Captain of the Burghers.

[Born in Rosendaal (Breda), 21st May, 1718; died in Colombo, 9th April, 1762; son of Rev. Johannes van Cuylenburg and Elizabeth Soest.]

The gallant Captain-Lieutenant Richard Kellens, retired Captain of the Burghers.

[Born in Colombo, 1689, son of Richard Kellens of Hasselt and Dominga Maartensz.]

The Hon. Anthony Diederich, *Koopman* and Lieutenant-Dissave.

[Chief of Mannár, 1762, titular Chief of Trincomalee, 1766; died 1768; was married to Anna Elizabeth Luders in 1747. He was a native of the Hague.]

The Hon. Joost Volkert Franchimont.

[Son of Gerrit Franchimont of Utrecht and Maria Ledulx of Colombo. He was born in 1709, and married in 1731 Maria Catharina Galekam of Colombo.]

The Hon. Herm. Jerom. van Cleef.

[Hermanus Jeronymus van Cleef, died in 1771, married in 1763 Petronella Jacoba Schade of Colombo.]

The Hon. Joan van der Weert, Chief of the Mahabadde.

[In 1765 he was about to repatriate. He was a native of Nimwegen, and was married in Galle, 1757, to Anna Cornelia Baade of Cochin.]

The Hon. Julius Valentyn Bauert.

The Hon. Gerrardus Kersse.

[Dissave of Matara, 1742; second in authority, Malabar Coast; Resident of Cayts, 1764. He was a native of Amsterdam, and was married in 1734 to Susanna Petronella van de Rondewerken.]

The Hon. Daniel Kersse.

[Son of Gerrardus, was a *Boekhouder*, and married (1763) Johanna Francina van Lier of Trincomalee.]

The gallant Mich. Erentryk Christoffel Baatke, Lieutenant (Military).

[A native of Mecklenburg, and was married in 1767 to Anna Gertruida van Sanden of Colombo, widow of Godfried Sweep, Chief of Madura. Their daughter Maria Agnita was married to Adriaan Sebastiaan van der Graaff, evidently the brother of Willem Jacob van de Graaff, Governor of Ceylon.]

The gallant Jan Andries Schuurman, Lieutenant, Artillery.

[Was a native of Waldeck.]

The gallant Jan Hendrik Simonsz, Lieutenant (Military).

The gallant Jan Carel Hofman.

[A native of Prague; Adjutant, Colombo; married (1) Wilhelmina Bogaart and (2), 1758, Maria Byl, widow of Adriaan Oostdyk.]

The gallant Frans George Phil. Braunwalt, Lieutenant and *Fabriecq*.

The gallant Jochim Fred. Wigman, Provisional Lieutenant (Military).

[A native of Berlin, and married in Galle, 10th August, 1755, Maria Gertruida de Vlame, widow of.........]

The gallant Jan Christoffel Groese, Sous-Lieutenant (Cavalry).

[Married Susanna Koch.]

The gallant Jan Jacob Hendrik Schutte, Surgeon-Major.

[Chief Surgeon, Mannár, 1754; died 1761. As an Under-Surgeon he married, in 1748, Petronella Engelbert of Colombo.]

The gallant Claas Ditlof Hubner (Heupner ?), Lieutenant, Engineer.

[Claas Ditlof Heupner married Maria Perera, and died in 1786. His son Petrus Ditlof was a Lieutenant of the Artillery, and born in 1754. He married in 1799 Anna Leonara Pietersz, widow of the Surgeon-Major Frans Wolkers.]

The gallant Jan Hendrik Blankenberg, Lieutenant, Artillery.

[Repatriated, 1772.]

Hendrik Jurgen Scholz (Burgher Lieutenant).

[A native of Lubeck, was twice married, (1) in 1737 to Anna Dupais and (2) in 1759 to Johanna Perera, widow of Hendrik Ryken.]

Jommogon Soesoeroekoera.

[Evidently a Javanese.]

The Hon. Jan Schols, *Onderkoopman* and Private Secretary.

The Hon. Gerrit Engel Holst, *Onderkoopman* and *Cassier*.

[Was married (1747) to Maria Francina Schokman.]

The Hon. Jacob Gerrard Overbeek, *Onderkoopman* and Superintendent of the Iron Magazine.

[Born in Calpentyn, 1728; son of Daniel Overbeek of Amsterdam, *Commandeur* of Galle, and Elizabeth Hals. He married Ida Jacoba Morth.]

The Hon. Dirk Joan Potken, *Onderkoopman* and Second Storekeeper.

[Born in 1728, son of the Rev. Gerrardus Potken of Oldenzaal and Sophia Magdalena Ecoma. He married (1757) Anna Cecilia de Moor of Galle.]

The Hon. Hendrik Jacob Oostman, *Onderkoopman* and *Negotie Overdrager*.

The Hon. Lucas Arentsz Schokman, *Onderkoopman* and *Dispencier*.

[Born in Colombo, 1707, was the son of Jan Arentz Schokman of Amsterdam and Francina Luyck of Colombo. He married in 1728 Sara Toussaint, daughter of Louis Toussaint and Maria Cornelisz, and grand-daughter of Mattheus Toussaint of Tournay, Belgium.]

The Hon. Pieter Blankert, *Onderkoopman* and Chief *Winkelier*.

[Died 1770. He was born in Colombo, being the son of Dirk Blankert of Rotterdam, Captain of the Burgery, and Rachel Versels of Leeuwarden (widow of Rev. Moses Herman). He was married to Helena Metternach, who married (as widow Blanckert) Adriaan Moens of Middelburg, Chief *Administrateur* of Colombo.]

The Hon. Albertus Homoet, *Klein Winkelier*.

[*Administrateur*, Galle, 1764; ditto, Trincomalee, 1780; Chief there, 1780. A native of Amsterdam; was married (1) to Catharine Hendrina Blokland and (2), 1773, to Maria Wilhelmina Francken of Tournay.]

The Hon. Christiaan Dryhaupt, retired *Onderkoopman*.

[Was married in 1748 to Josina Francina Hinderman.]

The Hon. Willem Visser, *Onderkoopman*.

[Willem Visser of Amsterdam was married (2), 1754, to Sibilla Dorsel, and (3) in Colombo, 1758, to Anna Cornelia Dormieux, widow of Jan Adriaan van Lier.]

The Hon. Salomon van Lier, *Onderkoopman.*

[Son of Solomon van Lier of Cochin and Adriana Kloecke, was born in Colombo and married Simonia Johanna Spaar. His daughter Anna Sophia married (2), 1768, Daniel Ditloff, Count van Ranzow.]

The Hon. Jan de Roth, *Onderkoopman.*

The Hon. Carl Fred. Konig, *Stads-opperm.*

The gallant Lourens Jolles Simonsz, Ensign.

[A native of Amsterdam, and married in Colombo, in 1753, Elizabeth Retsel of Colombo.]

The gallant Hans Pieter Claushal, Ensign.

The gallant Otto Frederik Luther, Ensign.

The gallant Jan Coenraad Wittig, Ensign.

The gallant Willem Janke, Ensign.

[A native of Dantzic.]

The gallant J. D. Gildemeester, Ensign.

[Jan Daniel Gildemeester, killed in action close to Hangwelle, 1761. He was a native of Rheda, and was married to Maria Pronk. His daughter Ulrica Wilhelmina was married to Johan Willem Uhlenbeck, born in Velbert, 1st February, 1744, son of Christiaan Uhlenbeck and Anna Catharina Brembeck. Jan Willem Uhlenbeck was the grandfather of Admiral Olke Arnoldus Uhlenbeck.]

The gallant Gabriel Hokens, Ensign.

[Was married to Margarita de Beenhouwer.]

The gallant Jan Jacob Meyer, Under Major.

[There were two other persons of this name in Ceylon. One was a native of Berlin and a Sergeant in the Meuron Regiment (1793); another was a *Predikant*, born in 1733, being the son of Lodewyk Meyer of Hesse Cassel.]

The gallant Herman Frederik Heyneke, Ensign.

[Herman Frederik Heyneke of Bremen was married (1759) to Plantina Margarita Huysman, born 1743, daughter of Christoffel Huysman of Amsterdam and Isabella Sivertsz. He died in 1776, having married (2) in 1767 Sara Elizabeth Woutersz of Galle.]

The gallant Hans Jochem Hansen, Ensign.

[A native of Meulen, married, in 1751, Anna Margarita Brinkman of Colombo.]

The gallant Christiaan Rudolph Logman, Commanding Sergeant.

The gallant Jan Rudolph Francius, Commanding Sergeant.

[A native of Coerland, and married in 1754 Sophia Jacoba Giethoorn. He died in 1773 at Kalutara.]

The gallant Daniel Eregod Wekke, Commanding Sergeant and Adjutant.

[Was married to Maria Rebecca Ebert, widow of Wilhelmus Philippus van Cuylenburg and daughter of George Godfried Ebert of Arneburg (Brandenburg) and Rebecca Hulo.]

The Hon. Pieter Joseph Jollie, Ensign of the Burgery.

[Was married to Johanna Gertruida Lammerts.]

The Hon. Jan Lasson, Ensign of the Burgery.

[A native of Amsterdam, was married in 1742 to Andreasa de Croes.]

The Hon. Joh. Everh. Jongbloed, Ensign and Adjutant of the Burgery.

[Johannes Everhardus Jongbloed; married (1) in 1756 Anna Elizabeth Salder of Calpentyn; (2) 1761, Anna Sophia Scharff of Colombo; (3) 1779, Johanna van Ham of Colombo.]

The Hon. Jan Janssen Wynroos, retired Ensign of the Burgery.

[Johannes Jansz Wynroos of Amsterdam, *Boekhouder*, was married (1), 1726, to Francina Prik, and (2) 17th May, 1767, to Maria de Saram.]

The Hon. Baltus van Lier, Sworn Land Surveyor.

[Born in Batavia; married in Colombo, 1740, Anna Elizabeth Harmensz].

The Hon. Frans Basx, First Apothecary.

The Hon. Benjamin Gerritsz, Thombo-holder.

[Was married (1) to Maria van Veen; (2) to Regina Elizabeth Lodewyks; (3) in 1740, to Gertruide Gerritsz of Colombo].

The Hon. H. Jac. van Dort, *Boekhouder*.

[Hans Jacob van Dort was born in Galle, 1712, and was the son of Cornelis Jansz van Dort of Utrecht and Elizabeth de Bruyn. He married in 1740 Helena van Velp.]

The Hon. Pieter Theunder, Secretary of the Landraad.

[Born in 1704; son of Hendrik Theunder of Soeft and Maria de Caauw. He married in 1735 Gertruida Fredericksz of Colombo.]

The Hon. Antony de Caauw, Member of the Landraad.

[Was married to Helena Ritscher.]

The Hon. Barth. Hendr. Stroeble (*sic*), Sworn Clerk of (the Court of) Justice.

[Bartholomeus? (Balthazar) Hendrik Stroebe was married to Assentia Claasz.]

The Hon. Adriaan Francke, Commissioner of the Arecanut Department.

[Adrianus Johannes Francke was afterwards Chief of Batticaloa, 1767, and *Koopman* there. He was born in Sluis in Flanders in 1734, being the son of Johannes Francke and Maria Catharina Beekhuisen. Johannes Francke was born in Sluis in 1709, being the son of Frans Francke and Pieternella Mortier. Adrianus Johannes Francke was married in 1760 to Gustava Robertina van Lier of Trincomalee. She was probably the daughter of Salomon van Lier, Fiscal of Trincomalee.]

Leopold Eman. van Dorth, *Lector*.

Johannes Stechwig, *Lat. Præceptor*.

Roelof Beekman, *Verbandmeester*.

[Afterwards Chief Surgeon, Tuticorin, 1763. He was married in 1753 to Gertruida Mulder of Galle.]

Jurriaan Landsknecht, Chief of the Ships' Carpenters.

[A native of Koningsbergen, was married (1), 1743, to Adriana Richart of Kalutara and (2), 1749, to Catharina Elizabeth Andries of Kalutara.]

Antony Gulden, Chief of the Smiths.

[A native of Nurenburg, married (1), 1737, to Elizabeth Germans of Colombo and (2), 1756, to Livinia Perera of Colombo.]

Jan Christoffel Ryt, Chief of the House Carpenters.

Jan And. Hilleke (*sic*), Chief of the Masons.

[Jan Andreas Heleker, of Kirchheim close to Erfurt, was married in 1763 to Anna Christina Jansz of Galle.]

Pieter Bruart, Chief of the Printing Press.

[A native of Reenburg; was married in 1749 to Susanna Perera of Colombo.]

Godfried Keegel, Chief of the *Boekbinders*.

Johannes Reyntous.

[Johannes Reyntous of Amsterdam, *Boekhouder*, was married (1), 1763, to Johanna Orelius, and (2) as *Koopman*, 1789, to Clara Johanna Overbeek, widow of Lieutenant Arnoldus Raasveld. Clara Johanna Overbeek was born in 1757, being the granddaughter of Daniel Overbeek, *Commandeur* of Galle, and daughter of Gerrard Jacob Overbeek. Reyntous was afterwards provisional Dissave of Colombo, and died in 1802.]

Jacobus Fransz.

Thomas Michiel Vlieland.

Joan Hendrik Hesse.

Ryclof Johan Kriekenbeek.

[Son of Barent Kriekenbeek and Catharina Ritmeyer. He was a *Boekhouder* in the Dutch Service, and was twice married, (1) 1767, to Christian Regina van Lier, and (2) 1770, to Elizabeth de Jong.]

Justinus Kriekenbeek.

[Justinus and Ryclof Johan were twin-brothers, born on the 11th October, 1738. Justinus married (1), 1766, to Catharina Magdalena Gulden and (2), 1769, to Maria Justina Fybrandsz.]

Barent de Jood.

[Born in 1713, was son of David de Good and Anna Otmar.]

Philip Askamie (*sic*).

[Philip Ascanu of Adelsheim was married in 1748 to Francina Rodriguez.]

Martin Coenraad.

Johannes van der Laan.

[Brother of Antony van der Laan, Surgeon, and son of Jan van der Laan and Johanna Pays.]

Carolus Jansz.

Jacob de Custal.

Johannes Barendsz.

Adriaan van Dith.

Harmanus Lodewyksz.

[Surgeon, Colombo, was married to Johanna Adriaansz of Colombo.]

Frans Ruytenberg Bodyn.

[Was married to Christina Floen.]

Simon Nicolaas Naja.

Pieter Theunder.

[Born 1704, son of Hendrik Theunder of Soeft and Maria de Caauw. He married in 1735 Gertrude Fredericksz.]

Johannes Carpertz (*sic*).

Gerrit Elias van Dorth.

Joan Alwis, First Mudaliyár.

[Joan Alwis Widjewardane Senewiratne, Maha Mudaliyár. Gold medal, 1762.]

Don Louis Samerekoon, Second Mudaliyár.

Willem Christoffel Mardappa, First Tamil Interpreter.

Moettee Chadeappa, Second Tamil Interpreter.

Don Louis, Mohotiaar.

Abram de Saram, Mohotiaar.

Philip Jeronymus, Mudaliyár.

[His daughter Cornelia married Isaac de Saram.]

Domingo de Saram.

[Domingo de Saram Wijesekere Abeyratne, Guard Mudaliyár, was married to Dona Catharina Tillekeratne, and was the son of Antony de Saram Wiresinghe Siriwardene, Mudaliyár of the Salpitty corle.]

Dionysius Perera.

Isaac de Saram.

[Married (1) Dona Cornelia Jeronymus and (2), 17th November, 1776, Maria de Saram.]

Don Louis de Livera, Muhandiram of the Attepattoe.

[Father of Carolus de Livera Tennekoon, Atapattu Mudaliyár of Colombo.]

Abraham Casie Chetty, Tamil Interpreter.

Sawiel Mardappa.

Pasqual Pieris.

The Tamil and Siṉhalese Masters, together with the scholars of the Seminary.

The Pall-bearers.

The Hon. Willem van der Damast Limburger (*sic*), *Onderkoopman* and first Sworn Clerk.

[The writer of the *Beknopte Historie.* He was the son of Jan Limburger, Captain of the Hellebaardiers and Keeper of the Castle at the Court of His Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, and Metta van Damast, both living at Leeuwarden in 1766. Willem van Damast Limburger was married to Catharina van der Cocq.]

The Hon. Bart. Jacobus Teyken, *Onderkoopman* and *Soldy-Overdrager.*

[Johannes (?) Bartholomeus Teyken was born in Leyden, and married, in 1755, Anna Maria Wilthuyzen of Galle. He was perhaps the son of the Rev. Bartholomeus Teyken of Leyden, who married, in Colombo, 1725, Maria Hertenberg of Vlaardingen (Celebes).]

The Hon. Jan Abraham van der Voort, *Onderkoopman* and *Secretaris van Justitie.*

The Hon. Jan Christoffel Herscher, *Onderkoopman* and *Sabandaar.*

[In 1763 he was President of the "Thuynbeschryving" (compilation of the Tombo ?). He was married to Maria Pietersz, and died in 1766.]

The Hon. Adriaan Moens, *Onderkoopman.*

[Born in Middelburg. He was afterwards Governor of the Malabar Coast, and died in Batavia, 12th October, 1792. He was married (1) in 1759 to Susanna Adriana Potken (widow of Wermelskircker), (2) in 1763 to Sara Maria Raket of Jaffna, and (3) in 1770 to Helena Metternach.]

The Hon. Cornelis Ens, *Onderkoopman.*

[In 1758 he was Chief Storekeeper of Trincomalee, and died in Colombo, 1762.]

Johannes de Vos, Sworn Clerk.

[Afterwards *Onderkoopman* and Superintendent of the Iron Magazine, Colombo, 1770. He was born in Tuticorin, being the son of Jan de Vos and Christina Polnitz. He married (1) in Colombo, 22nd September, 1748, Maria Hoepels and (2) in Colombo, 6th January, 1771, Sara Catharina Luders of Colombo.]

Christiaan Jansz, Sworn Clerk.

Wilh. Phil. Wetzelius, Sworn Clerk.

[Born in Colombo, 1736, son of Rev. Johannes Philipus Wetzelius of Hardewyk and Susanna Wynbergen.]

Carel Frederick Schreuder (*sic*), *Boekhouder*.

[Carl Frederick Schorter, Dissave of Jaffna, was born in Hildesheim, and came out to the Indies in the year 1751 in the ship "Spandewaal." He married in 1758 Helena Cornelia Kriekenbeek.]

Adolph Frederik Marci, *Boekhouder*.

[Superintendent of the Iron Magazine, Colombo, 1762. He was a native of Lubeck, and married in 1758 Alida Agnita Gerritsz of Colombo.]

Bonifacius Theodorus Koster, Clerk to the Garrison.

[Born in Colombo, 1720, was son of Balthazar Koster of Kleinvoede and Elizabeth d'Almeida. He married (1) in 1745 Johanna Jongbloed and (2) in 1764 Sara de Jong, daughter of Huybert de Jong of Haarlem and Regina Prik.]

Johannes van Geyzel, *Boekhouder*.

[Son of Angelo van Geyzel and Anna Solter. He was born in Colombo, 1716, and was twice married, (1) in 1742 to Francina Toussaint and (2) in 1755 to Catharina Salomina Prik, widow of Johannes Schut. Angelo was the son of Frans van Geyzel of St. Nicolas (Belgium) and Susanna Pegalotte, whose father was Angelo Pegalotte of Genoa.]

Huybert de la Haye, Commissioner of the Arecanut Department.

Jan de Run, *Boekhouder*.

[Was married to Magdalena de Croese. He died in 1768.]

Petrus van Dort, *Consumptie Boekhouder*.

[Born in Galle, 1715, was son of Cornelis Jansz van Dort of Utrecht and Elizabeth de Bruyn. He married Johanna Paulusz.]

The Funeral of Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck, Governor of Ceylon.

Lubbert Jan Baron van Eck, Lord of Overbeek, Lathmar, Leeuwenburg, &c., was born on the 26th March, 1719, and baptized at Velp on the 1st April, 1719. He was the son of Samuel Baron van Eck by his first wife, Jacoba Wilhelmina Maria Coutis. The Governor of Ceylon was unmarried.

The *Nieuwe Nederlandsch Jaarboek*, MDCCLXVI., p. 488, contains an account of his funeral, of which the following is a translation.

TRANSLATION.

The gallant Governor and Director of Ceylon Lubbert Jan van Eck did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his victories, for having left Kandy on the 4th March, 1765, and been received with great joy in Colombo on the 10th, he died after an illness of ten days, and was buried there with princely state on the 5th of the following April. At sunrise the flags of all the ships and sloops lying in the roads waved half-mast high daily since the death of the Governor took place. On the Admiral's ship minute guns were fired from the time that the body was taken up till it was laid in its grave. In the afternoon at 3 o'clock all the bells in the fort and the city began to toll, and were afterwards rung 15 minutes every half hour until the ceremony was over. At 3 o'clock the clerks, marines, military, artizans, Burghers, and lascoreens took post in front of Government House under the usual officers, and the funeral-horse covered with black cloth, as also the charger of the late Governor, was brought within the portico of Government House. On both sides of the procession there marched twelve companies of lascoreens under the chiefs, all in mourning, and with a black strip of crape attached to their lances and standards, beating on their drums the so-called Sinhalese march. In advance there were four fieldpieces with their belongings and gunners, after which followed the clerks, consisting of a company of 84 strong with four drums hung with black cloth, the standard being provided with crape, as also the hats, spontoons, and belts of the officers. At the head was Lieutenant Johannes Barth. Teyken. [No doubt a relation of the *Onderkoopman* Teyken, who was present at Cramer's funeral.] The standard was carried by the Ensign Berghuys, and Lieutenant Holst brought up the rear. After this there followed the marines under the

command of their Commanding Officer in two divisions, each consisting of 18 men with four drums. After this there came four more fieldpieces, the corps of Hautboyists, their hautboys stopped up beneath with crape, blowing the usual funeral music. The battalion of military, grenadiers, and riflemen commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel Jan van Wezel on horseback with sword reversed, &c. The workmen under the command of their captain, also in two divisions, each of 24 men with four drums. Again four fieldpieces. The company of Burghers, 48 strong, with four drums, commanded by their Captain Jurgen Hendrick Scholtz, the standard being borne by their Ensign van den Broek [Johannes van den Broek, born in Colombo, was the son of Arnond van den Broek of Welsbeck. He was married (1) in 1757 to Engelberta Plantina de Moor, and (2) in 1782 to Maria Gilauw, widow of Caspar Sieling, Captain of the Burgery], and Lieutenant Lachon bringing up the rear. Four trumpeters in deep mourning, with round hats, streamers of crape, and trailing black cloth cloaks, with funeral belts on, and banderoles hung with crape.

Thereafter came the insignia in the following order :—

(1) The cornet or standard borne by the Ensign Werkmeester [Perhaps Jan Carel Werkmeester of Hartgerood, who was married in 1757 to Anna Maria Steevens of Colombo] with a round hat with hanging mourning band and trailing cloak.

(2) The charger led by grooms with belts, round hats, mourning bands, and coats of black cloth.

(3) The arms of the deceased Governor [For a description of the arms see Journal, R.A.S., C.B., No. 49, Vol. XV., 1898, p. 236. A curious story is related about these arms. The old arms were on a field argent, a pair of shears sable. One of the knights, Van Eck, travelling in France and allowing his shield to hang out in front of his inn, all the cloth-shearers in the place, taking him for one of their trade, flocked round him and showed him great respect. Through shame he

abandoned these arms and adopted those of his mother, being the present arms used by the family.—Kok's *Vaderlandsch Woordenboek*, Vol. XIII., p. 76] borne by the Captain Michiel de St. Andrée, with a round hat, hanging funeral band, and trailing cloak.

(4) The helmet, adorned with a black plume, on a black velvet cushion with silver tufts at the corners and silver lace round it, borne by the naval Captain-Lieutenant Paulus Engelaar, [Was married to Susanna van der Eeden] also with a round hat, &c.

(5) The staff of command or the regimental staff on a black velvet cushion, adorned as that of the helmet, carried by the Lieutenant and Sub-Major Jos. Wirs (Wits ?), [Jan (Christiaan) Wits of Marienburg was married (1) in 1758 to Maria Elizabeth Heyzer of Colombo, (2) in 1760 to Christina Auslag of Trincomalee, and (3) in 1763 to Dianara Margarita Swygert of Colombo] &c.

(6) The tabard of the deceased, made of white satin, with his arms duly depicted thereon, being carried on the ordinary poles by the Captain of the Cinnamon Department, Jean Elie du Mourin. [A native of Ypres, was married, 2nd December, 1764, to Anna Sophia van Lier, daughter of Salomon van Lier and Simonia Johanna Spaar. She married as Widow du Mourin, 1768, Daniel Ditloff, Count van Ranzow.]

(7) The gauntlets or iron gloves on a velvet cushion, also adorned with silver tassels, &c., borne by the *Onderkoopman* Dirk Joan Potken.

(8) The spurs, like the gauntlets, carried by the *Onderkoopman* Willem Visser.

(9) The sword in its scabbard, hilt upwards, carried by the *Onderkoopman* Daniel de Bok, [A native of Amsterdam ; was married (1763) to Maria Sophia Wirmelskircher] who, like all others aforesaid who carried the insignia, held in their hands, besides tokens of mourning, a green twig with a ribbon of silver lace tied to it.

Before the insignia were brought out of Government House, the clerk, steward, coachman, gardener, and other domestic servants of the deceased Governor had proceeded on their way in single file, dressed in black clothes, round hats, long trailing cloaks, and mourning bands, going with their heads uncovered. Four *rapport-gangers*, two by two, in the same mourning. Further, there followed behind the insignia the Captain (Military) Jan Carel van Espendonek, carrying in his hand the bare sword of His Honour of blessed memory in full array, with a funeral band round his hat and with black gloves. The charger, richly caparisoned and led by the Captain (Military) Jan Wolgang Imhoff in full uniform.

Twelve *aansprekers*, four by four, in file, with round hats, flowing mourning bands, and cloaks, holding in the right hand a green twig with ribbon of silver lace tied thereto.

After the twelve *aansprekers* there came the coffin, covered with a black satin cloth edged to the ground with broad silver lace and silver tassels in the corners, hung on both sides with eight shields and sixteen quarterings of His Honour. On the velvet cloth there stood at the head of the coffin an uncommonly fine crown of massive silver, as is the custom of the country with respect to married persons of distinction, intertwined and inlaid with the initials of the noble Governor, and further edged with silver lace and various embellishments relative thereto. This crown was placed on the coffin by the Jongvrouw Henrietta, Baroness de Reder, [Henrietta Tugendreich, Baroness de Reder, born in Lichnits, died in Colombo, 15th April, 1778, was married 1st February, 1766, to Cornelis de Cock of Embden, Dissave of Colombo] assisted by the *Koopman* and first *Visitateur* Raket. Miss Appolonia Magdalena van Angelbeek [Born in Batavia; was married (1) to Frederik Jacob Billing of Straukerke, Dissave of Colombo, and (2) in 1788 to Cornelis Dionysius Krayenhoff of Hoorn, *Commandeur* of Galle] and Julia Dorothea Wermelskircker [Born 1753, daughter of Rev. Mattheus Wermelskircker and Susanna Adriana Potken]

had, with the assistance of the Surgeon-Major Clero and the *Onderkoopman* Van Velsen, [Adriaan van Velsen of Batavia was married in Galle, 1767, to Gertruda Sibilla de Leeuw of Galle, daughter of Johannes Willemsz de Leeuw and Susanna Brakel] sprinkled the said crown with rose water and dealt out to the qualified bearers green twigs with ribbons of silver lace attached to them. The body was borne by twenty-four corporals, with six in reserve to relieve each other in the bier or under the cloth. On both sides there marched two deep His Honour's bodyguard. The above-named velvet pall was held up on both sides by eighteen qualified persons, with round hats, long cloaks, and mourning bands, and a green twig with a ribbon of silver lace tied to it in the right hand. With these there were four more qualified *slipdraagers*, who held up the four ends of the pall, also in deep mourning and with green twig, &c. For the rest, the body was placed in a soldered copper coffin tinned over, and this was in turn placed in a good water-tight wooden case covered with black satin, set all round on the sides with an edging of silver. Behind the hearse followed the relations of His Honour of blessed memory so far as they were known, and further those who had to represent the rest, all in deep mourning, viz. :—

1. Aland Laron van Eck.
2. Willem Jacob, Baron van Eck.
3. Adriaan Moens.
4. Harmanus Jeronymus van Cleef.
5. Jan Hendrik Fredrik Willem van Calthof.

Thereafter the members of the Government, with round hats, cloaks, and mourning bands :—

1. Daniel Burnat.

[Dissave of Mátara, died in Colombo, 1806. He was a native of Bern, and married in 1789 Elizabeth Holst.]

2. Joan Gerardus van Angelbeek.

[Afterwards Governor of Ceylon, was married to Jacomina Lever. His daughter Christina Elizabeth was married to Willem Jacob van de Graaff, Governor of Ceylon.]

3. Pieter Liebert Schmidt.

[Chief *Administrateur*, born in Utrecht, and married in 1758 Susanna Petronella Visboom.]

4. Johan Hendrik Borwater.

[A native of Tiel. He was Fiscal of Colombo, and was twice married, (1) to Magdalena Mensenk and (2) to Barbara Bringentina Lebeek.]

The *Predikanten.*

The respective public bodies:—

1. The Councillors of the Court of Justice, with their Secretary, with cloaks and mourning bands.

2. The Landraad and its Secretary.

3. The Civil Council and its Secretary.

4. The Masters of the Orphan Chamber and their Secretary.

5. The Commissioners of Marriage Causes and their Secretary.

6. The elders and deacons.

And finally, the writers at the Secretariat of His Honour, as also all the further companies' servants and Burghers, all with trailing funeral cloaks, together with the leading native chiefs with mourning scarfs round the body.

A move having been made as above indicated, the route taken was by the watch Leyden, and then along the canal through the so-called Beer street to the church, where the clerks, marines, soldiers, artizans, and Burghers turned inwards and saluted the body as it went past. The procession went through the whole corps, which presented arms and struck up the march, until they came to the church; and when the vault of the late Governor was reached the body was lowered close to its resting-place by qualified bearers and afterwards lowered into the grave by twenty-four corporals. Hereupon the same with the bier and cover was shrouded over with the velvet pall, and at the same time the insignia were ranged in order. Whilst this was being done three volleys were fired with the muskets, and a cannon was fired after each volley, after which all the guns of the Fort at intervals of a minute were fired.

Finally the gentlemen and friends who were of the procession returned from church as they had set out, and, crossing the great plain, went to the house of mourning, followed by the clerks, marines, military, artizans, Burghers, and lascoreens, with flying colours, beating of drums, &c.

The Funeral of the Hon. Iman Willem Falck.

Otto Willem Falck, Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons under the Duke of Wurtenburg, and his wife Constantia Margarita Meinertshagen, were the parents of Frans Willem Falck, Anton Reinhard Falck, and Carel Gustaaf Falck. Frans Willem Falck, Dissave of Matara, born in Ceulen 7th October, 1710, died in Matara 7th August, 1737, was married in Colombo, 8th May, 1735, to Adriana Gobius of Samarang, the daughter of Johan Frederik Gobius, Governor of Malacca, and Margarita Elizabeth Heynen. Their son was Iman Willem, baptized in Colombo on the 1st April, 1736, the sponsors being Daniel Overbeek and Elizabeth Hals, representing Iman de Jong, Johan Werner Meinertshagen, Constantia Margarita Meinertshagen, and Margarita van Nes. Iman Willem Falck's grandmother married, as widow Gobius, Iman de Jong of Zierickzee, Dissave of Colombo, from whom Governor Falck got the name of Iman.

Governor Falck was a Doctor of Laws, Fiscal (Ceylon), and went on an embassy to the King of Kandy. In 1756 he was an *Onderkoopman* in Batavia, and Secretary of Governor-General Mossel. In 1767 he was Extraordinary and in 1770 Ordinary Councillor of the Indies. He died childless in Colombo on the 6th February, 1785, having been married to Theodora Rudolphina de Wendt, daughter of the Brigadier Gerrardus Beylanus de Wendt and Johanna Willemina Muntz. His widow married on the 20th October, 1785, Elias Paravicini di Capelli, Major in the Artillery.

The following is an account of the funeral of Iman Willem Falck translated from the *Maandel. Nederl. Mercurius*, 59, Dl. 1785, p. 126.

TRANSLATION.

Obsequies held on the 10th February, 1785, on the occasion of the solemn burial of the Hon. Mr. Iman Willem Falck, Ordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies, Governor and Director of the Island of Ceylon with the Dependencies thereof.

1. Twelve companies of lascoreens, each 24 strong, commanded by their officers.

2. Four pieces of cannon with their belongings.

3. The Company's clerks with their officers.

4. Four pieces of cannon.

5. The Artillery corps, commanded by the Major Elias Paravicini di Capelli.

6. Four pieces of cannon.

7. The Dutch batallion, commanded by the chief of the Military the Colonel Johan Jacob Coquart.

[Was married to Jacoba Christina van Sohsten.]

8. Four pieces of cannon of the Regiment Luxemburg.

9. The French Regiment Luxemburg, commanded by the Lieutenant-Colonel de Bas, Knight of the Royal Military Order of St. Louis.

10. The companies of the Burghers with their officers.

11. The funeral horse, led by two ostlers.

12. The arms, carried by Captain-Lieutenant of the Artillery Adriaan Sebastian van de Graaff.

[Perhaps Abraham Sebastiaan van de Graaff, born in Galle in 1763, son of Willem Jacob van de Graaff and Agnita Clara Samlant.]

13. The helmet, carried by the Harbour Master Olke van Andringa.

[A native of Enkhuyzen; was first married to Gresina Stam, and secondly to Magdalena Elizabeth Stroback, widow of Petrus Casparus Sievertsz. He was the son of Frederik van Andringa and Jannetje de Vries. Olke's daughters

by the second marriage were married—one to Christiaan Cornelis Uhlenbeck and the other to Jacob Piachaud.]

on a black velvet cushion with silver lace and tassels.

14. The staff of authority, carried by the chief of the Cinnamon Department, Drederich Thomas Fretz.

[Son of Jan Fransz Fretz and Anna Gertruida Herpel. He was born in St. Goar (Hesse-Nassauw). He was the last *Commandeur* of Galle, and was married (1), 1764, to Cornelia Reyniera van Sanden of Jaffna, and (2) to Gertruida Henrietta Bartels of Tuticorin, daughter of Jeronymus Bartels and Natalia Gomez.]

15. The charger, led by the First Lieutenant of the Clerks and *Onderkoopman* Mr. Johannes Adrianus Vollenhoven.

[A native of the Hague ; was married in 1873 to Jacoba Cornelia Coquart, the daughter of Colonel Johan Jacob Coquart.]

16. The tabard, carried by the *Onderkoopman* Daniel Ditloff, Count van Ranzow.

[Son of Ferdinand Anton, Count van Ranzow, and Josina Schokman. He was born in 1741 and married (1), 1768, Anna Sophia van Lier, widow of Jean Elie de Mourin, and (2), in 1795, Maria Coeldwell of Bombay.]

17. The gauntlets or iron gloves, borne by the *Onderkoopman* D'Estandau, [Jean Jacques David D'Estandau, born in Rynsburg, died, in Galle, 22nd October, 1815 ; was married, 1788, to Johanna Arnoldina Elizabeth de Bordes. Their daughter Johanna Elizabeth, born in Galle in 1789, was married to Diederich Cornelis Fretz, the son of Diederich Thomas Fretz] on a black velvet cushion with silver lace and tassels.

18. The silver spurs, carried in the same way by the *Onderkoopman* Rudolp Samuel Tavel.

[A native of Petterlingen (Canton Bern) ; was married in 1780 to Christina Elizabeth Hugonis of Jaffna, widow of the Captain of the Cinnamon Department, Lourens Christiaan Frobus.]

19. The drawn sword, borne by the Captain-Lieutenant Jean François Pierre E. du Hul (*sic*).

[Jean François Even du Hil, born in 1758, died in Jaffna, 7th September, 1787, was married to Ester Dulcina Brochet

(de la Touperse), the daughter of Louis Brochet (de la Touperse) of Metz, *Commandeur* of Jaffna. She married, as Widow du Hil, 18th April, 1790, Christoffel Gerrardus Keegel.]

20. The funeral sword, carried by the First Lieutenant of the Artillery, Pieter Willem Ferdinand Adriaan van Schuler.

[Son of Jan van Schuler and Adriana Sophia van Reede van Oudshoorn. He was born in Utrecht, 2nd November, 1757, and married, in 1783, Wilhelmina Catharina Leembruggen.]

21. The parade horse, led by the Captain and Master of the Horse, Adriaan Cornelis Lever.

[A native of Breda; married, in 1770, Susanna Isabella Oostdyk of Galle.]

22. Four pieces of ordnance.

23. The clerk.

24. The steward.

25. The cooks.

26. The coachmen.

27. The gardener and other domestic and personal servants.

28. Twelve *aansprekers*, four by four.

29. The body, carried by "Undermerchants" (*Onderkooplieden*) and other qualified persons, the four ends of the black velvet pall edged with silver lace and the silver tassels at the end being held by Captains Emanuel van Berdky, François Baron de Mackeeunt, Chevalier de Roquee, and Wylier.

30. The relations, one by one; also the Hon. Cornelis de Kok, [A native of Emtden; was married in 1766 to Baroness Henrietta de Reder. He was Dissave of Colombo] Cornelis Dionysius Craiaenhoff, [*Commandeur* of Galle; was born in Hoorn, and was twice married, (1), 1769, to Anna Jacoba van de Leur, and (2), in 1788, to Magdalena van Angelbeek of Batavia] Paul Engelbert van Halm, and Martinus Mekern. [Of Gronigen; was married in 1772 to Judith Charlotta Lever of Bergen-of-Zoom.]

Mr. HERBERT WHITE raised an interesting discussion by inquiring where the Governor in question was buried.*

Mr. HARWARD : At the official church in the Fort at the time.

Mr. WHITE : Are there any remains of his tomb ? It would be interesting if Mr. de Vos could give information on that point.

The LIEUT.-GOVERNOR : I should think it is not a very difficult thing to discover. He suggested that Mr. Ferguson might know.

Mr. FERGUSON : It would surely be Wolfendahl. From the many details given of the procession it is certain it went a long distance. The talk of the procession going along the canal and also of its coming back across the great plain are all points on which it would be interesting to have information.

Mr. HARWARD thought the official residence of the Dutch Governors of Ceylon at that period was in the Fort and also their official church.

The procession went probably through two or three streets of the Fort.

Mr. PERERA said he thought the official Dutch church stood on the site of the Gordon Gardens. The Dutch Governors were buried there, and their remains were carried thence by torch-light to Wolfendahl after the British occupation, the old church having come down.

Dr. WILLEY asked if there were no tombstones.

The LIEUT.-GOVERNOR : But in this case it is obvious the funeral took place in the daytime.

Mr. HARWARD : It was three o'clock in the afternoon.

The LIEUT.-GOVERNOR : One point that strikes me is the question of the canal. Perhaps I ought not to speak because I know so very little of the history of Ceylon ; but in the case of the Dutch city I know best, all the streets have canals running down them. Whether it refers to that sort of canal I cannot say. Otherwise you would think that the funeral procession went a very long distance.

Mr. FERNANDO said there were canals such as described by the Lieut.-Governor from the corner of the Pettah Main-street the whole way to the Pettah station, and the roads on either side were canals.

It was suggested that Mr. de Vos should throw some light on the geographical features of the procession. The discussion then closed.

5. The following Paper was read by the author :—

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* Van Eck was buried in Colombo, 1765. (Lap. Zeyl., 28.)

Falck was buried in Colombo, 1875. (Lap. Zeyl., pp. 30-1.) The tombstones are in Wolfendahl church, where they were removed in 1813. See additional supplement to *Gazette*, September 2, 1813. (Lap. Zeyl.)—G. A. J.

NOTES ON A DUTCH MEDAL.*

By P. E. PIERIS, M.A., C.C.S., Barrister-at-Law.

THE medal in question is a small plain oval one of gold, manifestly of European workmanship; and resembling in size and make the one presented in 1682 to the Mẹda Kóralé Dissávé (R. A. S. Journal, vol. XVII., p. 54). The edge had been once clipped, and has been replaced locally, apparently in 1876 (*vide* D. C., Matara, No. 31,035).

The lettering is fortunately intact. On the obverse is the following inscription:—

Text.

Door den Admirael
Ryckloff van Goens
Voor goede diensten
Vereert Aen Meester
Anthonio Rabel Opper
Vidane Van de Betmes-
en Corale Van de dolos
das Corla 1661.

Translation.

Presented by the Admiral Ryckloff van Goens to Meester Anthonio Rabel, Upper Vidáné of the Betmas and Kórála of the Doḷosdás Kóralé, 1661, for his good services.

On the reverse, within a wreath, is—

CEYLON

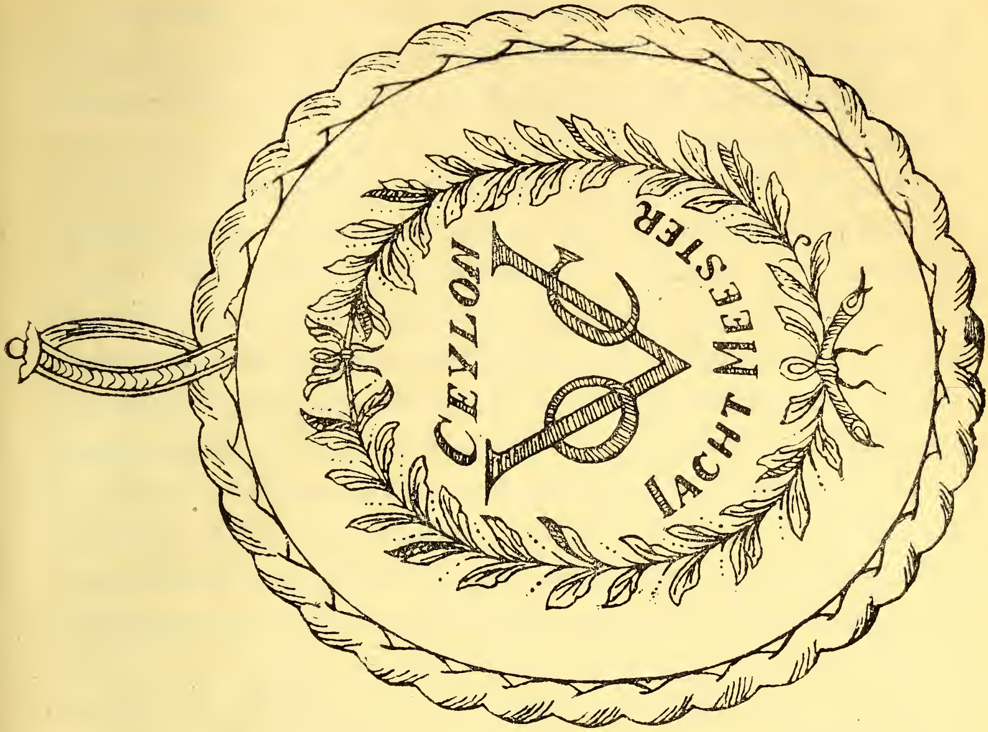
VOC

IACHT MEESTER

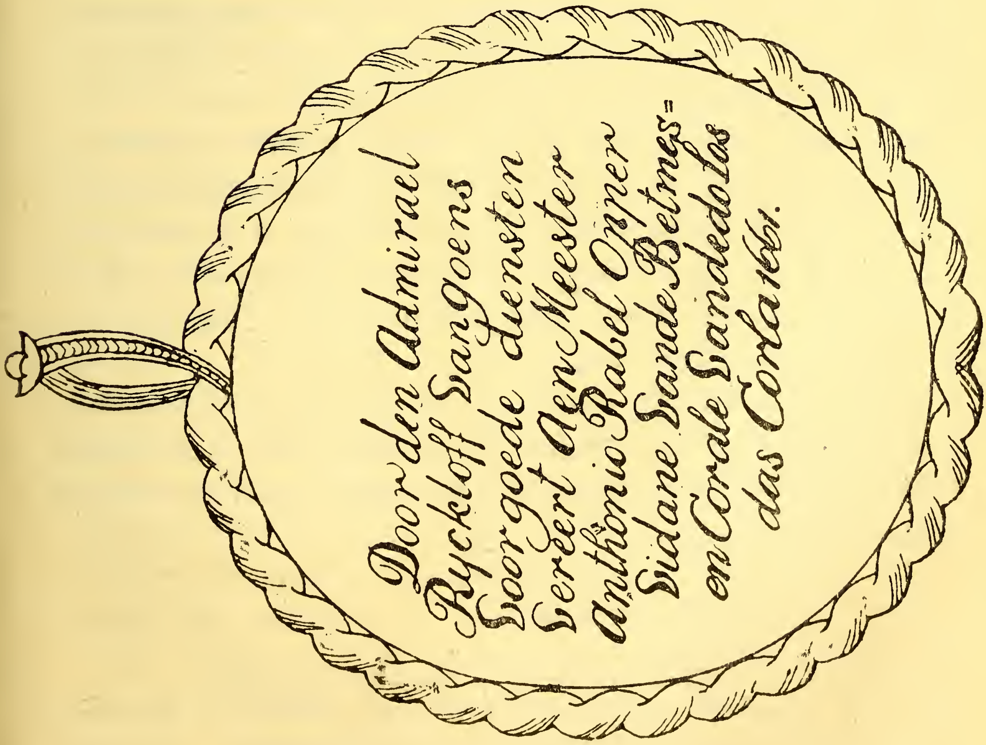
The last words mean "master of the hunt."

A special interest attaches to this medal from its date and from the caste of the donee. It is the oldest Dutch medal

* See footnote, p. 137.—B., *Hon. Sec.*



Reverse.



Obverse.

that has yet been traced, for the one which according to tradition had been conferred on Don Joan de Costa Manamperi Rajapakse, Maha Mudaliyár of the Governor's Gate,* is not forthcoming.

The grantee, Rabel, is described by Baldæus as "a brave Siṇhalese, a native of Mature, in our service," during whose absence from the Fort of Hakmana in July, 1656, it was stormed by King Rája Siṇha's troops.† By caste he was a Smith, a member of the important colony of *tarahaḷuwó*, which is said to have been established in the eighth century of the Christian era by King Dápuḷu Sen, in the neighbourhood of Devi Nuwara, in connection with the worship of the red sandalwood image of Vishṇu. According to the local belief, he was born of humble parents at Belideniya in Bambareṇda of the Weḷlaboḍa Pattuwa, and as an infant was abandoned by his parents, who left him in the hollow of a jak tree, where he was discovered by a passer-by. As a youth he learnt to support himself by making fish-hooks, which he sold to the fishermen along the coast, till one day he chanced on some shipwrecked white men, to whom he was of assistance and one of whom subsequently returned as a high official and pushed his youthful friend into prominence.

Rabel died before 1667. There is in existence a rare ola book of verse, apparently the work of a contemporary writer, which deals with his career; but the only complete copy that I have heard of appears somehow to have got into the possession of the late Mr. H. Nevill of the Civil Service, and has since disappeared.

Besides this medal, and about three others conferred on members of the petted Chaliya or Salagama caste,‡ no medals appear to have been granted by the Dutch to any save people of the Goyiwansa.§

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* R. A. S. Journal, vol. XI., p. 366.

† See 4 *C. L. R.*, 128.

‡ *Vide* R. A. S. Journal, vol. XVII., p. 62; 1 *C. L. R.*, 303.

§ For an interesting sidelight on the position occupied by the Smith caste at this time, *vide* Le Grand's Note, *Lee's Ribeiro*, p. 63.

It is not clear whether the term *meester* has any special significance in this inscription; such an honorific does not appear in any of the seventeen other Dutch medals I am acquainted with. Mr. F. H. de Vos has pointed out to me that the Portuguese-speaking class in Ceylon call a *vedarála* (native doctor) a *meester*. I have found the term *veda méstri* applied to a *radawá* (dhoby) in a deed of 1859. We Sinhalese also apply the term *méstri* to a barber, who were the original surgeons among European races; among the Galle smiths a *méstri* is said to have been a petty headman attached to the local arsenal. The smith family, known in 1730 as *Íwaḍu Ácharigé* (*i.e.*, arrowsmiths), had become in 1808 Íwaḍu *méstrigé* (Prov. Ct., Mátara, No. 1,470).

"*Betmas*," says Mr. de Vos, "were districts in which the hunt took place." In 1650 there were four *betmas*, viz.:—

Hiṭigalle	Cacunegodde
Gollogamma	Girreway

Each had its *vidáné* or chief, and the hunt was under the superintendence of the Dissávé.

In 1758 the *Betmé-rála* was an officer of the hunting establishment, whose emoluments consisted of six amunams of *accommodessan* fields. In 1821 there were four Betme Muhandirams. The word *Betme*, which is probably from the same root as the Sinhalese *bandana* and the English *bind*, is still applied in the Mátara District to a strong glue prepared from resin. The office of Master of the Hunt represents the Sinhalese *Ẹtbandana Vidáné*, which subsequently developed into the *Kúruwé Rála* and *Kúruwé Mudaliyár*. The title of *Vidáné* was held by some officers of the highest rank: Don David Jayatilleke Abeysiriwardhana Illangakoon, Maha Mudaliyár, was also Vidáné of Mákewiṭa; and Louis de Saram Wijesekera Karunaratne, Second Maha Mudaliyár, was Maha Vidáné of Pánaduré.

For particulars regarding the elephant hunt, *vide* R. A. S. Journal, vol. XI., p. 249, vol. XV., p. 190, and *Danvers*, Portuguese Records, p. 133. All castes were

engaged in the hunt, but the Gajaman Ranchus appear to have been recruited from the Chando or Duráwé castes, one member at least of which rose to the high position of *Gajanáyaka*. Both the Chando and Smith castes claim to have initiated the elephant hunt.

The following is a list of officers who had taken part in the hunt, so far as I have succeeded in tracing them :—

(1) Don Philippo Manamperi Arachchi, Chief Vidáné in 1650.

(2) Ukkuwela Rale, engaged in the hunt, and also in the Giruwá pattu : presented with fields in Attanagala and Ampiṭiya.

(3) Kapugama Rale, son-in-law of the above, who was succeeded in his office by his son-in-law—

(4) Ekanaike Don Simon Appuhami, who was granted a complimentary ola by Government.

(5) Ameresekere Rale, brother-in-law of No. 3 : he had the title of Jaagmeester.

All these held office before 1696. It is probable that—

(6) Anthonio Rabel was the predecessor of No. 5 : medal in 1661.

(7) Don Simon Wijeywardhana (Tennekoon ?), Mudaliyár, Gajanáyaka, and Jaagmeester : medals in 1715, 1718, and 1720. He died before 1724, after serving Government forty-six years in all capacities.

(8) Don Joan Seneviratne Wijeywickreme Tennekoon, Mudaliyár, Gajanáyaka, and Jaagmeester : medals in 1724 and 1731 ; died before 1744.

(9) Don Constantyn Wijediwakere Ekanaike, Mudaliyár and Gajanáyaka.

(10) Don Constantyn Dissanaike, Mudaliyár and Gajanáyaka : commissioned by Governor Loten (May 20, 1756) to lead thirty-one elephants to Jaffna.

(11) Don Simon Wijeywardhana Navaratne Tennekoon, Mudaliyár and Gajanáyaka : living in banishment in 1760.

(12) Don Bastian Tilekewardhana Abeyratne (a Chando), Gajanáyaka: relinquished office in 1763; succeeded by—

(13) Don Constantyn Dissanaike Tillekeratne, Mudaliyár.

(14) Don Petrus Abeysiriwardhana Illangakoon, Mudaliyár and Jaagmeester, 1781.

(15) Don Johannes Wijeywardhana Navaratne Tennekoon, Mudaliyár and Jaagmeester in 1786, also Gajanáyaka in 1793.

(16) Adrian Perera Wickremeratne Ameerakoon Ekenaike, Gajanáyaka in 1786.

(17) Don Thomas Rodrigo Wijeyratne Siriwardhana, Mudaliyár and Master of the Hunt: died in 1835 (medals from Governors North and Brownrigg).

All these were in the Mạtara Dissávoni.

In the Colombo Dissávoni I find as Kúruwé Mudaliyárs—

(18) Abraham Perera Wijesekere Gunawardhana.

(19) Johan Louis Perera Abeyesekere Gunawardhana, son of above: medal 1819; died 1849.

(20) John Abraham Perera Wijeyesekere Gunawardhana, Maha Mudaliyár, the last Gajanáyaka, son of above: medal 1871; died 1879.

For the term "*Córálé*" see 2 *C. L. R.*, 140.

The Dọlosdás Kóralé is the Giruwá Dọlosdás of the Siṇhalese, which originally appears to have been far more extensive than the Giruwá pattu of to-day.*

Mr. C. M. Fernando said he would like Mr. Pieris to continue his researches, and he did not think he would adhere to the statement that no other medals had been granted to any other caste than the caste named by him. He was certain if his friend Mr. Pieris was asked the question two years ago he would have said that no medal was given by the Dutch to the Smith caste. This was a subject which they had not gone into before. Mr. Pieris was just beginning his researches. If he would continue his researches he would find that medals were given to the Sinhalese of other castes, and the speaker would be glad to tell him, if asked, in which direction to make search.

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* *Vide* Dewundara Déválé Sannas (*Archæological Report, Kẹgalla District*, p. 96).

The VEN. the ARCHDEACON asked what the letters "V O C" on the medal indicated.

Mr. PIERIS said it represented *Vereenig de Oost-Indische Compagnie*—United East India Company. Replying to Mr. Fernando, he said he did not commit himself to saying these were the only medals granted by the Dutch. His words were "no medals *appear* to have been granted," and none were mentioned in the published *Memoirs* of the various Governors. He felt constrained to add that, according to common talk in the Southern Province, there was a genuine medal with a forged name in the possession of a priest at Weligama.

Mr. WHITE said he would like to know whether in 1682 Ceylon was spelt by the Dutch as it was on the medal "Ceylon."

Mr. PIERIS pointed out that a facsimile of the medal was printed.

Mr. FERGUSON thought that if Mr. Pieris was certain he had a correct representation of the medal it might be a matter for inquiry whether it was a genuine medal.

Mr. PIERIS quoted authorities in which the medal was mentioned (including a will of 1815 which he saw in the Court of Matara*), down to within 50 years of the grant.

Mr. FERGUSON said he had no doubt there was such a medal as Mr. Pieris described granted, but it was a question whether this one before them was the real medal. It might be a case parallel to that of the Tooth at Kandy.

Mr. PERERA said that there was a description of medals in the "Ceylon Literary Register," vol. II., p. 284, and Ceylon was spelt "Ceilon" in 1686.

Mr. C. M. FERNANDO pointed out how *sannas* were formerly forged, and quoted at length a particular case, where ultimately the accused confessed.

Mr. FERGUSON suggested that the name of Ceylon might have been added afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN: Might I ask where the original of the medal is?

Mr. PIERIS: At Mátara.

The CHAIRMAN: You have seen it?

Mr. PIERIS: I have seen it myself.

The CHAIRMAN said it appeared to him there was considerably more object in forging *sannas* than medals. *Sannas* carried certain lands, but he supposed medals carried none. Though his experience of *sannas* was very small and Mr. Fernando's very great, yet the few he had seen would not have been very difficult to forge as compared with a medal. He was not alluding to the handwriting: that was a trap many forgers fell into, but to the thin strip of metal.

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* See the will of Don Bastian Devendra Wijeyndra Bass, Muhandiram, dated 9th December, 1815, and filed in Prov. Ct., Mátara, Case No. 2,859. The testator there refers to this medal as a "breast jewel or medal which the testator inherited from his ancestors, who received it as a gift or token of honour from H. E. the late Dutch Governor Ryklof van Goens."

Mr. WHITE said that from the spelling it looked as if "Ceylon" was added afterwards.

The CHAIRMAN: How do you suppose "Ceylon" would be spelt?

Mr. WHITE: "Ceylon" at various periods has had many different spellings.*

VOTES OF THANKS.

The VEN. the ARCHDEACON had much pleasure in proposing a cordial vote of thanks to the readers of the three Papers they had listened to. The first Paper showed a great deal of care in preparation. The second Paper might have been more interesting if they had had some more extracts. At the same time the Paper was of great interest. He was specially interested in the question of the Church in the Fort. He believed it was the custom of the Dutch to build a Church within the boundaries of their Forts. The third Paper they had the advantage of having had before them. It was very interesting to read of the curious use of the word "meester," and the question of the date of the medal.

Hon. Mr. OBEYESEKERE seconded.

A USEFUL SUGGESTION.

Sir W. MITCHELL proposed a vote of thanks to the Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor for occupying the chair. They had had, he said, a very interesting meeting—more interesting than the titles of the Papers to be read gave promise of. At the same time he thought—if he might be allowed to say so—these meetings might be made still more interesting if the Council endeavoured to have Papers read bearing on or connected with the natural history, geology, or industrial arts in Ceylon. He might be pardoned for making the suggestion when moving a vote of thanks to the Hon. the Lieutenant-Governor.

Mr. H. WHITE had pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks. He had known Mr. im Thurn on paper from a very early age. He was one of a large family, and had an elder brother at Marlborough School. He used to take a great interest in his brother's doings, and especially in the school magazine, and he could remember some 35 years back Mr. im Thurn appearing in the "Marlburian" as the life and soul of a Natural History Society. He (Mr. White) hoped he would be the life and soul of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Hon. Mr. IM THURN said he thought Mr. White's last remark was in a way a happy one, for it allowed him to say what was in his mind to say for some time, and it fell in more or less with what Sir W. Mitchell had said. He had never been able during his short

* All efforts to induce the owner of the medal to permit it to be examined by an expert, and photographed, have failed.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

on nection with that Society to understand why they should not have not only natural history papers, but also occasionally exhibitions. For instance, if Mr. Peiris, having procured it on loan, procured the medal for inspection, it would have added greatly to the interest. That is a subject they might consider at a next meeting of Council, whether they might not have Papers with an exhibition—just a few things. He thanked them for the vote of thanks.

APPENDIX.

NOTE BY MR. R. G. ANTHONISZ, GOVERNMENT ARCHIVIST.

THE following facts, bearing on some of the points raised in the discussion on Mr. de Vos's Paper, would I think be interesting :—

1. Robertus Cramer, whose funeral is the first treated of, was *Dessave* of Colombo, an office which corresponded in many respects to that of Government Agent of the Western Province, and which carried *ex-officio* membership of the Political Council of Ceylon. The *Dessave* had his offices and establishment at Hulftsdorp, where also a commodious residence was provided for him by the Government. Illustrations of some of these buildings may be found among the series of *Heydt's Plates*, recently procured for the Society's Library at the Colombo Museum. The long funeral procession must have wended its way either along Dam street or San Sebastian and entered the Fort at the northern gate, where the present police station stands. The burial, of course, took place in the Fort Church, which stood on the site of the higher terrace of the present Gordon Gardens. Up to the end of the Dutch occupation of Ceylon this continued to be the burial-place of the Governors and high officials, although it had been given up as a place of worship for many years. Wolfendahl Church, which was completed in 1749, was erected in consequence of this old church, built by the Portuguese, getting into decay. I find that so early as 1736 reports were sent to Batāvia condemning the building as dangerous for use owing to the rotten state of the roof. Old residents, who saw the building in the early years of the British occupation, found only the walls standing : it was then almost a complete ruin.

2. The Governors Van Eck and Falck (accounts of whose funerals follow) resided, and probably died, at Government House, which stood on the site of St. Peter's Church. I am not sure that the church itself is not a part of the original building. At any rate, St. Peter's Church is not known to have undergone much alteration in the last hundred years. The route taken by the Governors' funeral procession is, I think, clearly indicated in the account of Baron van Eck's funeral. Leaving the porch in front of St. Peter's Church, a turn was taken to the right, in the direction of the "Leyden Bastion," which stood in the

neighbourhood of the present passenger jetty. It then proceeded up York street along the canal, which ran in a straight line the whole length of the road, and then at right angles as far as the opposite side of the fort. Those who saw Colombo as it was about thirty years ago, before the fortifications were removed, must remember this canal very well. Its course is still indicated by the lower level of the road along the Bristol Hotel and the Registrar-General's Office. "Beer street," into which the procession then turned, was, I believe, Canal road. The word "Beer," pronounced *bare*, and still preserved in the name "Bera Lake," has given rise to various theories. The most probable is, I think, that it is the name of the Dutch engineer who designed and constructed the work. A stone bearing the following inscription:

DE
BEER.
Ao. 1700.

may be seen at the small sluice opposite the Fort railway station. The men employed in the construction of this work, if they could be found, may be able to say where the stone was discovered at the time the fortifications were broken up. From Canal road, which at that time was not blocked up by the buildings that have since sprung up, an entry was made into Queen's street, where the church stood, and thus a complete circuit of the fort was made by the procession. The "great plain" referred to was probably the large open ground which stood on the side of the Church, where the present Queen's House grounds now stand.

Remarks by Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka on Mr. W. A. de Silva's Paper.

It does certainly strike one as strange that Sinhalese literature, fairly full in other respects, should be entirely lacking in works of a dramatic character. Several causes appear to have operated against the cultivation of the dramatic art in Ceylon. Mr. Arthur de Silva has pointed out the most important of them—the religious view, that regarded all kinds of dramatic shows and performances as vain and even spiritually harmful. Besides, as a nation, the Sinhalese of old, like the ancient Romans, seem to have looked down upon the profession of the dancer and the actor. Dancing, it is true, was performed as a religious ceremony in the *Devâlas*, as we read in the *Sandesas;* but the dancers were apparently not of the Sinhalese race. Among the Sinhalese, dancing and singing were confined as professions to the lowest classes. Hence possibly arose that utter indifference to dramatic poetry which not even the influence of India, so powerfully averted in other departments of Sinhalese literature, has been strong enough to remove.

Dramatic productions, referred to by Mr. Arthur Silva in his interesting Paper, are of course of very recent date, the earliest being not much older than the middle of the last century. There is, however, a form of dramatic representation which seems to have been earlier introduced and more popular with the masses than the *nadagams.* I refer to the farcical representations known as *kolan netima* (කෝලන් නැටීම). This form of amusement used to be very common in the villages, and even to-day it flourishes in some parts of the Island, notably in the Bentota district.

The whole representation is of the crudest form. There is no theatre hall, nor are scenes of any kind in requisition. A roofless cadjan enclosure does duty for the stage, and as well supplies seating accommodation for the audience. The performers are, of course, all males. They wear masks and dresses suited to the characters they represent. The performance lasts the whole night, and—as the proverb has it—the best part of the show comes off towards morning. At all events, the enthusiasm and delight of the rustic audience never flag for a moment.

In origin, apparently Tamil, the *kolam* seems to have developed on native lines. Except the royal personages, introduced early in the evening, all the characters belong to Siṇhalese village life. There is no central plot ; episode succeeds episode with little or no connection with one another. Each character is introduced by a string of verses sung by the "stage manager" and his assistants. These verses, uncouth and tuneless as they are, discover an unexpected vein of humour, and generally hit off the characters they introduce with a great deal of satirical truth. The royal messenger, lame in one leg but consequential withal; the old tom-tom beater, with the inevitable strip of Turkey cloth wrapped round his waist, and much fond of arrack ; his wife, young and comely, but not over-attached to her gray-haired spouse; the pompous Mudaliyár, strutting up and down in all his glory and power; the ubiquitous Tamby and his shy partner—all these and many others play their parts on the rustic stage ; and it needs no strong effort of the imagination to realize in these rude representations a faithful portrayal of Siṇhalese village life. Dialogues of an *impromptu* nature afford ample scope for local hits and allusions, which, often not very delicate, supply no end of merriment to the audience.

In conclusion, I may say that some of the stories represented are borrowed from Buddhist sources, and are meant to instruct as well as to amuse the spectators.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, October 8, 1903.

Present :

His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc. Lon., F.R.S.

Mr. F. C. Roles, Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on June 22, 1903.

2. Considered the election of the following Member :—

H. R. Dobree : recommended by { F. H. de Vos. G. A. Joseph.

3. Laid on the table a letter from the Honorary Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal, informing the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society that Members of this Society have the right to attend General Meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Resolved,—That the receipt of the letter be acknowledged with thanks and announced at a General Meeting.

4. Laid on the table, with correspondence, Paper entitled " Temporal and Spiritual History of Ceylon, compiled by Rev. Fernao de Queiros, S.J., of the Province of Goa," translated from the Portuguese by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved,—That Mr. F. H. de Vos be informed that Mr. D. W. Ferguson, to whom the Paper was referred to for annotation, has returned it saying that he cannot do it, and that certain portions of Mr. Ferguson's letter to Mr. Bell be quoted in writing to Mr. de Vos.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 181, containing the opinions of Members of Council *re* the translation of Valentyn, vol. V., Ceylon.

Considered the question of asking help from Government towards the translation. At the request of the Chairman it was decided that the matter be brought up again before the next Council Meeting, and in the meantime that Mr. Ferguson be asked on what terms he would be prepared to undertake to translate and edit " Barros " and " De Couto," Ceylon.

6. The Honorary Treasurer explained Mr. Bell's scheme of reprinting the Society's publications.

Resolved,—That no further expenditure be incurred on reprinting publications of any particular issue without the special sanction of the Council, and that Mr. Bell be notified accordingly.

7. Laid on the table correspondence on the Paper entitled "Notes on a Dutch Medal" read at the last General Meeting by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the owner of the medal be asked to produce it for inspection.*

8. Laid on the table manuscript of "Journal of a Tour to Candia in the Year 1796," by Lieutenant Mahony (offered for purchase for Rs. 100).

Resolved,—That the manuscript be referred to the President.

9. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," by Mr. C. M. Fernando, Crown Counsel.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. J. Harward and W. P. Raṇasiṇha for report.

10. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis accepting the office of Vice-President rendered vacant by the resignation of Mr. F. M. Mackwood.

11. Resolved,—That the Secretaries and President do arrange for a Meeting about the middle of December.

---

* See p. 137, footnote.—B., *Hon. Sec.*

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JOURNAL

OF THE

CEYLON BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

1904.

VOLUME XVIII. No. 55.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 4, 1904.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg | Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár

Mr. H. White, C.C.S.

Mr. F. C. Roles, F.J.I., F.R.C.I., Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on October 8, 1903.

2. Resolved,—The election of following candidates as Members :—

Rev. A. Stanley Bishop : recommended by	M. K. Bamber. F. C. Roles.
P. de Abrew : recommended by	G. A. Joseph. A. K. Coomaraswamy.
J. E. Senaviratna : recommended by	W. A. de Silva. D. B. Jayatilaka.

3. Read and passed the draft Annual Report for 1903.

4. Laid on the table Circular No. 259 of 1903 containing the opinions of Messrs. J. Harward and W. P. Raṇasiṇha on the Paper

entitled "A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," by Mr. C. M. Fernando, Crown Counsel.

Resolved,—That the Paper be printed, circulated, and read at a Meeting.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Arrack Distillation in the Southern Province," by Mudaliyár A. Jayawardana.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. White and C. M. Fernando for their opinions.

6. Read a letter from the owner of the medal granted to "Meester Antonio Rabel in 1661."

Mr. Harward undertook to see the medal at Mátara and afford the Council the desired information.

7. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. F. H. de Vos regarding his Paper entitled "Temporal and Spiritual History of Ceylon, compiled by Rev. Fernao de Gueiro."

The President undertook to examine the manuscript belonging to Monseigneur Zaleski and report at next Meeting.

Resolved,—That Mr. de Vos be informed that Monseigneur Zaleski would be written to on his return to Ceylon to help the Society in securing a copy of the manuscript.

8. Laid on the table a letter from the Assistant Government Agent, Mullaittivu, forwarded by the Government Agent of the Northern Province, asking for Rs. 20 for Archæological purposes.

Resolved,—To suggest to the Assistant Government Agent that application should be made to Government for the money.

9. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. W. A. Brotherton, of United States of America, requesting a set of the Society's publications.

Resolved,—That the Society regret that the publications cannot be supplied, but Mr. Brotherton be informed that such publications as are in print may be bought from the Society's local and London agents, and that a list of them be sent to him.

10. The Honorary Treasurer submitted a list of defaulters.

Resolved,—That final notice should be given to these Members, and if they do not make good their arrears of subscription before the Annual General Meeting their names be included in the Annual Report as defaulters, and removed from the list of Members.

11. The Honorary Treasurer, Mr. F. C. Roles, tendered his resignation.

Resolved,—That the Council accept the resignation with regret, and in doing so thank Mr. Roles for his past valuable services.

Resolved, further, that Mr. R. H. Ferguson be asked to fill the vacancy, and, failing him, Messrs. F. Lewis and C. Drieberg be asked in turn.

12. Reconsidered the question of the translation of Valentyn, Vol. V., Ceylon.

In the absence of an answer from Mr. D. W. Ferguson it was decided that the matter do stand over for next Meeting.

13. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. H. C. P. Bell, resigning office as an Honorary Secretary, which he has held since 1880, owing to the recent Resolution of Council (Meeting, October 5, 1903) regarding reprints of the Society's Journals and Proceedings.

The President undertook to write to Mr. Bell and ask him to reconsider his resignation.

14. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1904.

Under Rule 16 Dr. W. G. Van Dort and Mr. W. P. Ranasinha retire by seniority, and Messrs. S. M. Burrows and J. C. Willis by least attendance, two of these being eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That Dr. W. G. Van Dort and Mr. J. C. Willis be re-elected; that Messrs. S. M. Burrows and W. P. Ranasinha be deemed to have retired; and that the vacancies in the Council be filled by Dr. A. J. Chalmers and Mr. R. H. Ferguson, but that if the latter gentleman accepts the Honorary Treasurership, Mr. P. Ramanathan's name be substituted.

15. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on March 2, and that the business be the reading of the Annual Report, election of Office-Bearers, and the delivery of an Address by the President.

Resolved,—That His Excellency the Governor be asked to become the Patron of the Society, and to preside at the Annual General Meeting.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 2, 1904.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Mr. G. B. Leechman.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Mr. F. J. de Mel, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. E. W. Pereira, Advocate.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Dr. W. H. de Silva, F.R.C.S.
Ven. D. K. Srí Dharmaráma, High Priest.
Mr. W. G. Van Dort, M.D.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Rev. D. W. J. Wijésinha.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A., Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Gerard A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on August 1, 1903.

2. Announced the election of following Members since the last General Meeting: Mr. H. R. Dobree, Mr. Peter de Abrew, Mr. A. Stanley Bishop, J. E. Senaviratna.

3. Read the following communication from the Honorary Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal :—

Asiatic Society of Bengal, 57, Park street,
Calcutta, September 9, 1903.

The HONORARY SECRETARY, Asiatic Society of Bengal,
to the HONORARY SECRETARY, Ceylon Branch of the
Royal Asiatic Society, Colombo.

SIR,—I HAVE the honour to inform you that at a Meeting of the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal held on August 26, 1903, it was decided that the Members of the Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, and Singapore Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society, when in Calcutta, should have the right of attending the Society's General Meetings. I write to request you to be so good as to announce this arrangement to your Society. I am to add that the Society's General Meetings are held on the first Wednesday of every month, excepting September and October.

I have, &c.,
J. MACFARLANE,
Honorary Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal.

4. Mr. Harward read the—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1903.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit the following Report for the year 1903 :—

MEETINGS.

Two General Meetings of the Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed : "Two Ola Grants of the 17th Century," with Text, Translation, and Notes, by T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala ; "An account of King Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D.)," by P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.; "Dramatic Literature and Poetry of the Sinhalese," by W. Arthur de Silva, J.P.; "Three Funerals of Ceylon Dutch Officials in the 18th Century" (read some extracts only), by F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law ; "Notes on a Dutch Medal," by P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

Besides the above the following Papers were accepted during the year for reading and publication : "Correspondence between Rája Sinha II. and the Dutch," by D. W. Ferguson ; "Second Supplementary Paper on Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law ; "A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," by C. M. Fernando, Crown Counsel.

MEMBERS.

During the past year thirteen new Members were elected, viz., Pandit Savari Rayan, J. Samaradivakara, Professor C. Duroiselle, Rev. don W. J. Wijésinha, Venerable Dharma Kírti Srí Dharmáráma, J. Still, A. Anson, A. van der Poorten, J. B. Carruthers, F.L.S., F. Lushington, A. K. Coomaraswamy, B.Sc., F.L.S., &c., A. J. Wickramasinha, and H. R. Dobree.

One Member resigned, viz., A. de A. Senewiratne.

Sir J. A. Swettenham, K.C.M.G., and Advocate J. C. Walter Pereira have become Life Members.

The Society now has on its roll 198 Members, including 26 Life Members and 10 Honorary Members.

The Council record with regret the death of the following Members of the Society, viz.: P. D. Anthonisz, M.D., M.A., C.M.G., &c., Mudaliyár K. J. A. Pohath, and Mr. N. Balasubaramaniyam, M.A., of Madras.

Mudaliyár Pohath joined the Society in 1892. A note by him on Siriwardhanapura was published in the Society's Proceedings for 1890. Mr. Pohath contributed some valuable notes to a Paper entitled "The Identification of the Siriwardhanapura of the Maháwaṇsa, Chapter LXXX.," by the Right Rev. R. S. Copleston, D.D., late President of the Society

Library.

The additions to the Library during the year, including parts of Periodicals, numbered 422. The Library is indebted for donations to the following: The Secretary of State for India; the Colonial Secretary; Mr. Francesco L. Pullé; the Plague Commission of India; Dr. A. Caroll; Messrs. A. K. Coomaraswamy; Professor W. Geiger; P. Arunáchalam, C.C.S.; Bhikkhu Ánanda Maitriya; the Oberlin College, Ohio; Dr. C. von Drathen; the University of Colorado; the American Museum of Natural History; the Director of Public Instruction; the Philosophical Society of Liverpool; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; John Hopkins University; India Office Library; L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient revue Philologique, &c.; Iowa Geological Survey; the Archæological Survey of Burma; and the Library of Congress, Washington.

For valuable exchanges received during the year the Society is indebted to the following: The American Oriental Society; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; the Smithsonian Institute; Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; United States Department of Agriculture; United States Geological Survey; Field Columbian Museum; the State Archives; the Bureau of Education; Bijdrajen tot-de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, The Hague; K. K. Naturhistorischen Hofmuseums, Vienna; the Musee Guimet, Paris; Societé Zoologique, Paris; Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; Deutsche Morgenlandische Gessellschaft, Leipzig; Asiatic Society of Japan; the University of Upsala; Societé Imperiale des Naturalistes de Moscow; the Anthropological Society of Bombay; the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland; the Indian Museum; the Asiatic Society of Bengal; John Hopkins University; Geological Society of London; the Royal Colonial Institute; Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia; California Academy of Sciences; Royal Society of New South Wales; Royal Society of Victoria, Australia.

Accommodation.

In 1898 the Council invited the attention of Government to the congested state of the Library and referred to the subject touched upon in the Annual Reports from 1888. His Excellency the Governor in reply then stated that he "shares the regret of the Council that other more urgent claims on public moneys have prevented the provision of funds for the extension of the Museum." The Council hope that the extension of the Museum will shortly be undertaken, and by this means the necessary relief will be afforded. Want of room for shelf accommodation is proving a serious hindrance to the development and extension of the Library.

One number of the Journal has been published during the year (Vol. XVII., No. 53, 1902). It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and the General Meetings, the following Papers :—

JOURNALS.

"A Descriptive Catalogue of the more useful Trees and Flowering Plants of the Western and Sabaragamuwa Provinces of Coylon," by F. Lewis, F.L.S.

"Resolutions and Sentences of the Council of the Town of Galle, 1640–44," being the Translation of Vols. I. and II. of the Galle Dutch Records, edited and revised by R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist.

250 copies of each of No. 1, Vol. I., 1845, and No. 3, Vol. I., 1847–1848, have been reprinted during the past year.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL.

The Council has, as usual, been favoured with a brief summary of the work done by the Archæological Survey in 1903.

Operations were steadily prosecuted during the past year at Anurádhapura, Sígiriya, and Polonnaruwa.

Anurádhapura.

Mirisavetiya Area.—Excavations in the Mirisavetiya area were systematically continued. The unearthing of the ruins (viháres, pirivenas, &c.) clustered round the Dágaba is a comparatively easy task from the similarity and simple character of the buildings. But the excavation of the porticos and walls of the inner and outer quadrangle is proving very heavy digging, owing to the masses of *débris* thoughtlessly piled outside the *maluwa* of the Dágaba when it was cleared about 1885. Consequently, progress towards the completion of this area has been slower than was anticipated, and is likely to be retarded until the enclosing walls and four *mandapa* of the Dágaba are laid bare.

The excavation of the handsome north *mandapaya*, or portico, and of the north walls, inner and outer, of the Dágaba quadrangle, were finished last year. These have repaid the time spent upon them. The stone-built portico is in excellent preservation. It is connected to a stone-revetted basement wall which served as a wide gangway outside the regular slab wall of the paved *maluwa.*

The gangway and upper encircling wall have been carefully re-set, as far as practicable, along the entire north face of the quadrangle. When the other three sides are similarly treated the approaches to the Dágaba, and its general appearance, will be greatly improved.

Ruwanveli-Thúpáráma Area.—One of the finest of the ancient viháres of Anurádhapura lies a little south of the Thúpáráma Dágaba. It stands out pre-eminent from the generality of the ruins of this area, in the massiveness of its moulded basement slabs, and, specially, for the fine moonstone and quaintly ornamented balustrades of the entrance stairs. The chaos of its slabs testified to the mighty convulsive power of the forest trees which formerly covered the site.

In 1901 this viháré was taken in hand for restoration, gutted to its foundations, and all slabs and broken pillars laid outside ready to be replaced. Last year the ruin was partially rebuilt on the old lines, and the restoration will be completed gradually.

Jungle clearing.—The share of the vote of Rs. 4,000 for clearing jungle in and around Anurádhapura, allotted to the Archæological Commissioner, was expended in clearing undergrowth at Vessagiriya,

in the Abhayagiriya area, and at a few other points. But the main expenditure of 1903 was incurred in the rooting out of jungle on the Arippu road, near Mirisaveṭi Dágaba. It is in this direction that official residences will most advantageously be built, as the town grows in importance.

Sígiriya.

The citadel on the summit of the Rock, the terraces at its base, and the caves and islands within the ancient city, were weeded and cleared as in previous years.

Undergrowth not cleared for two seasons was cut and burnt over most of the city area, and on the Mápágala Rocks to the south.

The restoration of the gallery has now reached the foot of the limestone steps at the head of the gallery staircase leading to the highest terrace on the north front of the Rock. The wide gap in the gallery between the iron bridge and these steps had to be built up and stepped almost from the bottom. The steps at this point, owing to the rock conformation, are awkwardly cramped and tortuous, but terminate in a wide straight staircase above. The work on the remaining portion of the staircase and flanking wall will be finished next season. Attention can then be given to the "Lion-staircase-house" at the foot of the ladders and railing to the summit. This brick structure needs strengthening in places.

All difficulties have at length been overcome in the case of the larger of the two united fresco "pockets." In the cave a concrete bed was laid with a hand rail at the edge, iron standards let into the rock floor and roof, and suitable wire-netting stretched across. The smaller pocket is less accessible. It will be somewhat similarly protected, but the fixing of the iron work and netting involves even greater difficulty and danger than already experienced. By the end of another season it is hoped that it may be possible to leave the unique paintings of Sígiriya for ever guarded against the invasion of swallows, *bambaru*, and mason bees.

Polonnaruwa.

The Archæological Commissioner annually takes personal charge of the operations at Polonnaruwa during the dry months, whilst his Assistant carries on work at Anurádhapura.

From May till September of last year—the fourth season—good work was done at one of the more important groups of ruins. This cluster is situated east of Tópávewa lake, and directly north of the citadel and miscalled "Daḷadá Máligáwa" ruin. It comprises in all nearly a dozen buildings, of which the chief are :—

(1) "*Thúpáráma*" (so-called). Brick-built Viháré.
(2) "*Waṭa-dá-gé,*" or "Circular Relic-house."—Dágaba surrounded by stone columns and walls, on a double stylobate.
(3) "*Sat-mahal-prasáda.*"
(4) Viháré No. 1.—"*Heṭa-dá-gé,*" so-called.
(5) Viháré No. 2.—Smaller than No. 1.
(6) Viháré No. 3.—Containing remains of recumbent Buddha in brickwork.
(7) Square Stone-railed Relic-house—("*Niṣṣaṇka latá maṇḍapaya*").

All the buildings stand upon a highly raised quadrangle entered through porches on the west and east sides. This group of ruins was thoroughly excavated in 1903; but some buildings need much resetting.

"*Thúpáráma.*"—Large masses of hard brick and mortar *débris* had to be removed from the front of the building and from within its vestibule and sanctum. The viháré once contained a large sedent image of Buddha (brick-built), besides many smaller figures.

This magnificent building,—the sole known example in the Island with arched roof still nearly intact,—though now quite accessible, is in a critical condition, roof and walls exhibiting gaping cracks ominous of imminent collapse.*

"*Waṭa-dá-gé.*"—This circular structure is unrivalled in Ceylon. The central dágába was surrounded by rows of slender stone pillars (recalling Laṇkáráma Dágába at Anurádhapura) and a high brick and an ornamental slab wall, standing on a moulded basement, figured with lions and dwarfs, above a spacious lower platform.

Much of this ruin was buried under earth and *débris.* Excavation round the dágaba revealed many broken pillars and remains of four *ásana* placed at its cardinal points, besides portions of the images which once rested upon them.

The whole ruin has been freed of *débris*, its outer slab wall neatly re-set, and one of the four broken images cemented together and replaced *in situ.*

A colossal standing image of Buddha unearthed at Viháré No. 2 was also set up on its pedestal; and a statue of a king (perhaps *Nissaṅka Malla*), found near the west porch, erected in the central building of the group.

Clearing.—No Moorish villagers were called upon in 1903 to cut jungle. A Siṇhalese gang cleared the undergrowth over the western half of the walled city, besides tracing ancient roads, &c.

It is proposed to commence a detailed topographical survey of the ruins of "*Pulastipura*" (Polonnaruwa) next year.

Epigraphy.—The first number (Vol. I., Part I.) of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica* has been issued in a neat and scholarly form, by Mr. D. M. de Z. Wickramesinghe.†

COUNCIL.

Mr. J. P. Lewis was appointed by the Council to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Mr. F. M. Mackwood, one of the two Vice-Presidents.

Two Members of the Council of 1902, viz., Messrs. P. Coomáraswámy and E. E. Green, being by virtue of Rule 16 deemed to have retired by least attendance, the vacancies were filled by the appointment of Mr. Arthur Willey, D.Sc., F.R.S., and Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara. Messrs. C. M. Fernando and P. Freudenberg, who under the same rule vacated their places by reason of seniority, were re-elected.

FINANCES.

The receipts during the past year amounted to Rs. 2,316·88, compared with Rs. 1,562·25 in 1902. The year began with an overdraft of Rs. 359·42, but Rs. 1,500 was on fixed deposit. The nett amount to the credit of the Society was thus Rs. 1,140·58. The closing balance is Rs. 931·77. The duly audited statement of account is appended.

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* A special report for the preservation of the building, with full drawings, has been submitted to the Government by Mr. L. M. Acland, Provincial Engineer of the North-Central Province.

† A copy was laid on the table at the Meeting.—*Hon. Sec.*

Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.—General Account, 1903.

Receipts.	Rs. c.	Rs. c.
Entrance Fees		78 75
Annual Subscriptions :—		
1896	10 50	
1897	10 50	
1898	31 50	
1899	52 50	
1900	68 25	
1901	152 25	
1902	299 25	
1903	640 50	
1904	10 50	
		1,275 75
Life Memberships		103 91
Government Grant, 1903		500 0
Sale of Journals		314 65
Transferred from Fixed Deposit		1,500 0
3½ per cent. Interest on Fixed Deposit, less charges for overdraft		43 82
Total ...		3,816 88

Expenditure.	Rs. c.
Overdraft, Bank of Madras, January 1 ...	359 42
Books	274 36
Charges	518 62
Establishment and Salaries	370 0
Printing and Binding	1,362 71
Balance in Bank	931 77
Total ...	3,816 88

February 1, 1904.

F. Crosbie Roles,
Honorary Treasurer.

CO-OPERATION OF MEMBERS.

In conclusion, the Council invite the co-operation of Members in the work of the Society, and would welcome Papers in any of the lines of study which come within the scope of the Society's objects.

5. The Annual Report was adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. E. W. Perera, and seconded by Mr. R. H. Ferguson.

6. On the motion of Dr. W. H. de Silva, seconded by Mr. F. Lewis, a vote of thanks was passed to the retiring officers, and the following Office-Bearers were elected for the year 1904 :—

President.—The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.—The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., and Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.

Council.

Mr. W. G. Van Dort, M.D.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Mr. J. C. Willis, M.A., F.L.S.
Mr. M. Kelway Bamber, F.C.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. P. Freudenberg.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc.,F.R.S.
Mudaliyár A. M. Gunasékara.
Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D.,F.R.C.S.
Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G., K.C.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.

Honorary Secretaries.—Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. Gerard A. Joseph.

The PRESIDENT referred to the retirement of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archæological Commissioner, who for a quarter of a century had rendered most excellent service to the Society as joint Honorary Secretary.* He thought they were indebted to Mr. Bell more than to any one else for the success of the Society during the past twenty-five years. He had great hopes that, after a short rest from the worries of editing the Society's Journals, Mr. Bell might be persuaded to resume office. Mr. Bell deserved, in the meanwhile, the cordial thanks of all for all he had done for the Society.

7. The PRESIDENT delivered his presidential address on—

THE USE OF SCIENCE IN CEYLON.

When I came to Ceylon rather more than two years ago I found as your President Dr. Copleston, then your Bishop, but now the Metropolitan of India. He shortly afterwards finally left Ceylon for India, and you paid me the compliment of offering me the vacant Presidentship. I confess I hesitated greatly about accepting, and even now I am not sure that I decided rightly. He was a man of real eloquence, and with a very great knowledge of the Eastern world and its religions and languages. I need hardly remind you that he was the author of what may be considered one of the two English text-books on the great subject of Buddhism. I, on the other hand, was entirely new to the East ; and little as I knew of it then, my business as Colonial Secretary left me little chance of acquiring knowledge of the more

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* Mr. Bell felt himself unable to retain office in view of the resolution passed at the Council Meeting of October 8, 1903.—*Hon. Sec.*

strictly scientific and the more literary aspects of the East. He was a man of great energy and kept this Society together ; I, though I cannot complain of lack of energy, have certainly not enough, both to do the business of Colonial Secretary and also to stir you up as I then suspected, and now know, you need stirring up. Moreover, he used to give you presidential addresses ; and I did not feel in the least inclined to address you about those marvellously interesting mysteries of the East, of which you naturally know more than I do. So, last year I gave you no address, and this year I only do it at the instigation of Mr. Harward.

There is, however, one subject of local interest on which by this time I feel myself capable of addressing you usefully,—a subject of which I know a little by previous training, and of which my work as Colonial Secretary has caused me to know more. I propose to address you, therefore, on " The Use of Science in Ceylon."

First of all, is Science of any use in Ceylon ? I can imagine the case of a man, say, an official charged with the heavy burden of looking after the revenues of the Colony, standing and scoffing at the idea of there being any use of Science in Ceylon. He might say it was all very well as an amusement, but that as a practical man he could not be persuaded to believe in the actual practical use of Science to us here, as a business people. Such a man, I venture unhesitatingly to assert, would be entirely in the wrong. He would be like the cook who made his dishes, successfully enough sometimes, by rule of thumb instead of by the *formulæ* of his cookery books. The fact is that it is only by studying everything, every single object of nature, with the minutest possible attention that one can accumulate a sufficient store of knowledge with which to put that object to the best possible use in the practical business of life.

But as we cannot all be omniscient, practical men have to employ men of science to collect and classify facts which may then be used in practical work. In an almost purely business society, such as characterizes Ceylon, there are very few people who can devote time to special study. Consequently, almost all the scientific work which has been carried out, and necessarily carried out in the Island, has been done by the Government. I do not mean to overlook the few amateurs who have done good work. No one could do so who knew the admirable and really scientific work of the late Mr. Collett, whose collection of shells the Museum—again by the intervention of Government—has secured. Most of the real scientific work, however, more especially the collection and co-ordination of scientific facts, has been done at the instigation and at the expense of Government. And so, I think, it may not be without its use if I now briefly summarize the work which the Government has done in this way, and possibly give a hint of the way in which the Government might perhaps do still more.

The oldest scientific institution in the Colony, if I am not mistaken, is the Royal Botanical Gardens, now flourishing at Péradeniya. There is an excellent article on the gardens by Mr. Willis, the Director, in Mr. White's " Ceylon Manual," and to this I must refer you for a more detailed account of their history. I can only touch briefly upon it now. The institution of the Gardens dates from before the British occupation of the Island. There was a Dutch Government Garden in Slave Island, but when the British took over the Colony they were apathetic about this garden, and sold it after a few years' neglect. However, after a short interval, we re-established a Botanical Garden in Slave

Island, where Kew road now is, but this only continued for three years, and in 1813 the garden was moved to Kalutara. It is pleasant to think that those early gardens were in the direct line with our present Botanical Institution, but the actual Péradeniya Gardens of the present day were only established in 1821. The history of their development has been a most natural one. As was natural and right it began with a collection of the plants of Ceylon, in a dried state, and as living specimens in the garden, and after a great many years those in charge of the garden compared and studied and worked out their various inter-relations and uses. Just after I came to the Colony the thing took a further start, in that an Experimental Station was established at Gangaroowa. On this we may pride ourselves, as it is the first of its kind, and the only one of its kind, that has been established in the East, its chief feature being not so much that it is a garden or a collection of plants, but a place where, in the most scientific way possible, plants of a utilitarian kind are given every possible chance. Just about two years ago, when the Government was buying Gangaroowa, I visited the spot. It was certainly a beautiful place, but far too overgrown to be of any use. It was simply a hotbed of botanical disease. Then, again, I visited it within the last few weeks. The change was most remarkable, and promises great practical results. Its success has been due partly to the scientific staff of the Botanical Gardens, and partly to the excellently selected body of planters who have brought their practical knowledge and joined it to the scientific knowledge of the Péradeniya staff, and the result has been just about as good as it could possibly be. I have heard practical people, estate owners here, say that had they known two years ago before Government bought it what Gangaroowa could be turned into, not merely from a scientific but even from an agricultural point of view, Government would not have got it, or at least not so cheaply. It seems to me, therefore, that Gangaroowa is a crowning point, I will not say a final crowning point, in more than a century of Government Botanical work in Ceylon.

Meanwhile various branch gardens were established. Hakgala was established for the cultivation of cinchona, but since the interest in cinchona lessened Hakgala has become partly an experimental garden for plants which will only grow in Ceylon at that altitude, and partly a garden in the larger and truer sense of the word, a place for the entirely delightful growth of up-country plants; and any one who goes there can see the excellent results achieved. In this connection I cannot help saying a word of regret at the departure of the man who had made the success of Hakgala, Mr. Nock, who is shortly to be lost to the Colony, about as great a loss as any one could be; certainly of men of his kind the Colony has never had any one as good as Mr. Nock.

Quite recently, also under Mr. Nock, a garden has been established at Nuwara Eliya; and this serves to bring out the interesting fact that plants will grow there which will not grow at Hakgala, which is only 6 miles off. Another specially interesting feature in the Nuwara Eliya gardens is the experimental growth of exotic pasture grasses, which it is hoped may eventually be substituted for the almost useless indigenous grasses of the patanas of Ceylon.

In 1876 a garden at sea level was established at Henaratgoḍa for quite another purpose. The Indian Government had imported South American indiarubber trees, but it was found that the climatic conditions of India did not suit the young plants, and Ceylon, being asked to take them over, established a nursery at Henaratgoḍa, from which

rubber has since spread successfully throughout the Island and to India. I cannot help regretting that these gardens are not more largely visited by people from Colombo, and that the interest which attached to them in their early days has been allowed to die away.

Others gardens with different climatic conditions have been established at Anurádhapura in 1883 and at Badulla in 1886, and now it is proposed to establish yet another garden under fresh conditions, this time in the north at Jaffna, and this should prove of the utmost utility for experimental and other purposes, especially in connection with cotton cultivation as a possible industry for the north. The Director of the Botanical Gardens is at the present moment busy with experimental plots of cotton along the route of the Northern Railway.

Another aspect, important in all scientific work, is the publication of reports. It is not only necessary that scientific men should collect facts and state them clearly to contemporary business friends, to help the business men of the present day to utilize the knowledge gained, but it is even more necessary to place the results on record, so that they may be of use to future generations. The publications from Péradeniya, such as are being produced at the present day, are doing excellent work.

But I must leave this interesting subject for other examples of scientific work in Ceylon. There is the Museum, for instance, a very youthful institution compared with the Botanical Gardens, founded as it was by Sir William Gregory in 1877. Its great importance is as a home for collections of specimens, other than Botanical, which should be preserved for future generations. We are fortunate to have retained in the Island the late Mr. Collett's collection of shells. A collection made locally should be kept locally. Unfortunately there are other local collections which have been dispersed, the most important of which, perhaps, is Gardener's collection of plants, though the transference of Mr. Carey's collections to the British Museum is an instance which touches us more nearly. The extension of the Museum is a subject which has been under contemplation by the Government for many years. When I first came and walked through the Museum I was told of the necessity for extension. I asked to see the papers on the subject, and was horrified at the enormous size of the file, which showed a mass of correspondence extending over many years ; but up to almost the other day nothing had been done. I do not say that very much has been done now, but the subject has been brought forward, and the Governor has appointed a small Committee consisting of Mr. Obeysekere, Dr. Willey, the Director of Public Works, Mr. Cameron, and myself to work among the old plans, and see if we cannot get out a feasible scheme by which the Museum may be enlarged. There are, so far as I can gather from the papers, two plans for additions to the Museum, neither of which seems to us quite suitable. One of the original plans was to repeat the present Museum building back to back with the present building and to connect the two blocks. But this would not only cost too much, but would provide far too much space for the collections which are likely to accrue for many years. In the result the Committee will probably propose to extend the present building at the back, leaving a future generation, not of mankind, but of officials merely, to complete the more ambitious plan. Personally I hope, but cannot give any pledge, that this very desirable and necessary work

not to the Museum only, but also, I think, to the Asiatic Society, will be undertaken next year.

Dr. Wiley has begun the publication in *Spolia Zeylanica* of information regarding the work of the Museum. The first volume has recently been most successfully completed. This should be of real use not only within the Island, but as a means of spreading information as to the Island to parts beyond.

There are several men of science whose work is not purely botanical, who make their headquarters at Péràdeniya. These include the Government Mycologist and the Entomologist. Much scientific work, other than botanical, is in consequence centred at Péràdeniya. This is perhaps as well, for the Entomologist's work is connected with the effect of insect ravages on plants, especially cultivated plants on estates, and this can best be studied in the Botanical Gardens At the same time it would perhaps be more useful if these gentlemen were also more closely connected than they are now with other interests, and particularly the Museum here in Colombo. I am well aware that the Péràdeniya staff is always ready to give every assistance it possibly can to the Museum ; but I have it in my mind that it would be an excellent thing if the staffs of the Museum and of the Marine Biological Institute and of the other scientific institutions of the Island were in closer touch with one another. They would all be more useful, and would work to far better purpose if they were all joined together as a board of scientific advisers, such as has been established in India.

The most interesting scientific thing in Ceylon at the present time is the investigation by Professor Herdman and Mr. Hornell into the Pearl Fishery and the life-history of the pearl-mussel, I must not call it an oyster. It is a matter on which I find it difficult to say in a few words all that is in my mind. I have been following Professor Herdman's publications and Mr. Hornell's diaries, and have been very much struck with the enormous number of very minute facts, of which even the practical man in charge of the Island's revenues, the man of whom I was speaking earlier in the evening, would appreciate the importance when they are so presented as to display their practical results. We did not know, in fact no one knew, until lately, exactly what a pearl was. For two years now the gentlemen to whom I have alluded and others have been investigating in all sorts of places, and have accumulated an extraordinary number of very small facts, utterly unimportant by themselves, but which, when put together, reveal most interesting secrets. We now know practically the whole life-history of the pearl-mussel, from the beginning to the end. We know that the presence of the pearl, at any rate of the good pearl, in the mussel is one incident in a cycle of life-history which is continually being re-enacted in our seas. The immediate cause of the pearl—again, I say, of the good pearl—is a small tapeworm which, like the caterpillar, the chrysalis, the butterfly, and the egg which the butterfly lays and which recommences the cycle as a caterpillar, passes through various phases. At one period of its life it hangs on by suckers and hooks to the intestines of a sting-ray. Thence, from time to time, it lets fall joints of its own body, each laden with eggs. These joints pass out of the ray and burst, and the freed eggs, when hatched, live for a time as tiny animals swimming freely in the sea. These small creatures next take refuge within the shells of the mussel, causing their host a good deal of inconvenience and discomfort. The mussel, tickled and irritated, tries

to quiet and kill its unwelcome little guest by depositing round it layer after layer of nacre, or mother-of-pearl, and when this effort is successful the result is a pearl. But when the effort is unsuccessful, the parasite lives on happily in the tissue of its mussel-host until a trigger-fish come along. Now the trigger-fish devours the mussel, shells and all, and in so doing devours also the living pearl-parasite within the mussel. But the parasite, nothing daunted, finds a new and congenial home in the trigger-fish, until a sting-ray in turn devours the trigger-fish. Even then the pearl-parasite accommodates itself to yet another home, and, once more in the form of an adult tape-worm, hangs on with hooks and suckers to the intestines of the ray; thence it again detaches its egg-laden joints and the whole cycle recommences. Having discovered the life-history of the pearl and pearl-mussel, the men of science are now trying to revolutionize the methods of pearl fishing which have been in vogue since, I believe, 323 B.C. The diving dress has been tried with great success, and now we are trying a system of dredging which is going on side by side with the old system of skin diving, and is, I believe, destined eventually to supersede the old-fashioned methods, to the great pecuniary advantage of the Colony.

Besides this we have arrived at a critical point, being almost within reach of a process which will enable us to wash the pearl oyster, instead of allowing it to rot as has been done since time immemorial and then muddling about in the festering mess and picking out the pearls by rule of thumb. We hope soon to wash the pearl from the oyster just as grains of gold are washed from alluvial gravel. We shall not get entirely rid of the rotting process, but we shall only have to use it to a very small extent.

I take this opportunity of recording my experience that Ceylon owes a great deal to some of its Civil Servants for their very ready and able assistance to the scientific men. For one example I know, as no one else could know, that much as we are indebted to Mr. Hornell for bringing about the somewhat unexpected but welcome Pearl Fishery of 1904, we are equally indebted in the same matter to Mr. Denham, the Assistant Government Agent of Mannár, without whose thoroughly practical help the fact that there were pearl oysters to fish this year would never have been known to us.

This by no means exhausts the list of scientific works in the Colony. A small Marine Biological Institute has been established at Galle under the able direction of Mr. Hornell, but the work is only in its infancy, and the Institute has to be closed whenever Mr. Hornell is away on scientific investigation. I hope that it may lead to the remunerative cultivation of sponges, which are found in considerable quantities on the coasts of the Island, but are never utilized commercially.

Very little work has been done here in geology, and work in mineralogy is practically only just starting with the appointment of Mr. Coomáraswámy to conduct a survey of the mineralogical conditions of the Colony, a task which will, of course, entail years of labour.

Meteorology is well looked after by Mr. H. O. Barnard. There has been considerable talk about the establishment of a seismological observatory. Seismological instruments have been imported by the Government, but have lain idle for many years, the delay in the erection of the observatory being due to the fact that before the Island starts a seismological observatory a great many other things

will be necessary, and the cost of these is so great that the observatory will have to wait. Substantial work has been done in chemistry, but far too little has yet been achieved in the direction of anthropology, and the cave-dwelling veddas might well receive more attention. Folklore has received no adequate attention, the only satisfactory effort being that of Mr. E. B. Denham, Assistant Government Agent of Mannár, who is at work on a series of notes on the folklore of that district.

Archæology is too big a subject to go into at this time of the evening. Excellent work has been done by the Archæological Commission started by Governor Sir Arthur Gordon in 1890, Mr. Bell's record of work being extraordinarily creditable. Kẹgalla, Anurádhapura, Sígiríya, and Polonnaruwa have been the chief scenes of the Commission's labours; and rightly so, for they are the principal centres of archæological interest in the Island. But we must remember that the work is still almost in its infancy, and that a vast field for archæological research still remains to be opened up. In our archæological work we are dealing—and it is a rather unusual state of things—with the monuments of a still surviving religion. Therefore it behoves us to move with caution ; and I believe that we habitually do so move. We are, as reverently as may be, unburying the long-hidden monuments of a great religion. Many generations of the professors of that religion have left these monuments buried, and done nothing—perhaps they could do nothing—to prevent their further decay. Then we undertook the work, partly for our own information, but at least as much for the benefit of our Buddhist fellow-subjects. This, I think, the Buddhists should reckon to our credit.

On the subject of the Zoological Gardens I must not dwell. As you know, it has been much talked of for some time past. The project has my warmest sympathy, and I am hopeful that the idea of establishing Zoological Gardens in the Island may some day be realized. Such gardens should prove of the greatest interest to natives and visitors alike.

Before I close this imperfect sketch of the scientific activities of the Island I must say a word on their relation to the Asiatic Society. For these activities the Asiatic Society should be a centre and a rallying point. The Society should, I think, devote more of its time and energies to scientific subjects particularly connected with the Colony, fostering them and co-ordinating them by all the assistance it can give.

8. A vote of thanks to the President, proposed by the Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere and seconded by Mr. C. M. Fernando, concluded the Proceedings of the Meeting.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 11, 1904.

Present:

Mr. H. White, C.C.S., in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.	Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A., Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on February 4, 1904.

2. Resolved,—The election of following candidates as Members :—

E. Evans, B.Sc. London : recommended by	R. H. Ferguson. G. A. Joseph.
S. de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár and Chief Translator to Government: recommended by	C. M. Fernando. G. A. Joseph.
C. J. M. Gordon, M.A. Glasgow, B.A. Oxon. : recommended by	C. M. Fernando. G. A. Joseph.
G. W. Woodhouse, B.A. Cantab., C.C.S. : recommended by	J. W. Vanderstraaten. G. A. Joseph.
T. P. Masilamanipillai : recommended by	J. B. M. Ridout. J. Harward.

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 19 of 1904 containing the opinions of Messrs. H. White and C. M. Fernando on the Paper entitled "Arrack Distillation in the Southern Province," by Mudaliyár A. Jayawardana.

Resolved,—That, in view of the remarks on the Circular by the gentlemen to whom the Paper was referred, it be not accepted, but that the writer be thanked for forwarding it to the Society.

4. Laid on the table two letters from Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala : one *re* his father's death and the other forwarding a Paper entitled "Errors in Ceylon History."

Resolved,—That Mr. Pohath Kehelpannala be informed that his father's death has already been recorded in the Annual Report for 1903, and that the Paper be referred to Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara and Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha for their opinion.

5. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. D. W. Ferguson *re* translation of "De Couto" and "Barros."

Resolved,—That Mr. Ferguson be informed that the Society is prepared to pay him £75 for a translation of "Barros" and the portion of "De Couto" which refers to Ceylon, with introduction and notes—payment to be completed by the end of 1905 if manuscript has been received before that date.

6. Laid on the table a letter from the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay inviting the Society to send Delegates to their celebration of the Century of the Society's Foundation.

Resolved,—That the letter be read at the next General Meeting.

7. Laid on the table the following opinion, by Mr. Harward, on the medal granted to "Meester Antonio Rabel in 1661":—

MEMORANDUM WITH REGARD TO THE DUTCH MEDAL NOW OWNED BY MR. F. A. DANTANÁRÁYANA, STAMP VENDOR IN MÁTARA.

At the request of the Council of the Asiatic Society I have examined this medal to see if the illustration given in Mr. Pieris's picture is correct. The picture is not accurate. On the obverse it misrepresents the shape of the letter h, which should be ɦ. On the reverse the word "Ceylon" is printed in sloping letters in the picture: the letters should be perpendicular like those of the words beneath the VOC. The letter Y is taller than the others (like this: CEYLON). There is no reason to doubt that this word is of the same date as the rest. The medal is much spoiled in appearance by the join, where the new edge is fastened on to replace the part clipped off: this comes about quarter of an inch inside the edge of the medal itself, just outside the inscription on the obverse and the wreath on the reverse.

Resolved,—That the Report be published in the Society's Journal as part of the Proceedings of this Council Meeting.

8. Resolved,—That a General Meeting be held on May 21, and that the business be the reading of—

(*a*) "Correspondence between Rájasinha II. and the Dutch," by Mr. D. W. Ferguson.

(*b*) "A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," by Mr. C. M. Fernando, Crown Counsel.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 21, 1904.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. I. Gunawardhana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár.
Sir W. W. Mitchell, C.M.G.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., Honorary Secretary.

Visitors : Five gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on March 2, 1904.

2. Announced the election of following Members since the last General Meeting:—Messrs. Edwin Evans, B.Sc.; Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár ; C. J. M. Gordon, M.A.; George William Woodhouse, B.A., C.C.S.; and T. P. Masilamanipillai.

3. Read a letter from the Honorary Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, inviting the Society to send Delegates to their celebration of the centenary of the Society's foundation on January 17, 1905.

The CHAIRMAN: I think that letter was brought up at the last Meeting of the Council, and it was decided that it ought to be read at the General Meeting, and if members wish they could take advantage of it and represent the Society.

4. Mr. C. M. FERNANDO read the following Paper :—

A NOTE ON THE PALÆOGRAPHY OF CEYLON.

By C. M. FERNANDO, B.A., LL.B., Crown Counsel.

THE collector of Siṇhalese coins finds himself at the outset faced with the difficulty of deciphering the characters inscribed on them. He then consults the works of Prinsep and Rhys Davids, and with the assistance of the plates and by mere observation of outline is enabled, though not without difficulty, to identify his coins. True it is that both these authorities give the inscription appearing on each coin in the Nágari character ; but it is the modern Nágari, which is in many respects so different from the old form, that one often seeks in vain to detect a similarity between the legend in modern Nágari and the actual inscription on the coin.

The difficulty of identification is, however, insurmountable when one has had the good fortune to meet with a coin not figured in the standard books, unless, indeed, one has had the patience to carefully go through the various known coins and has prepared a list of the old Nágari characters to serve as a key for identification. It is to this opportunity that this Paper is due. I came into possession of a copper coin,* which I vainly tried to identify with the means at my disposal. I then prepared a list of the characters, such as is above referred to, and with its aid succeeded in identifying the inscription as *Ṣrí Kálinga Lakeṣwara*, and thus fixed it as the copper "massa" of King Ṣrí Niṣṣanka Malla.† I quote the reference to this coin in Rhys Davids :—

A coin of Niṣṣanka Malla has been referred to above, of which only three examples are known, two in possession of Sir Walter Elliot and one in the collection of Mr. Dickson, Government Agent of the

* Kindly given to me by my friend Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha, who had it from a Buddhist priest many years ago.

† 1187 to 1196 A.D., according to Rhys Davids, but according to Wijésiṇha's *Maháwaṇsa* 1198 to 1207. He reigned at Polonnaruwa.

North-Central Province, Ceylon.* Unfortunately all three specimens are just now mislaid, and though this Paper has been delayed in the hope that one would be found, we are at last compelled to go to press without being able to include a figure of this coin in the plate. The coin is of copper, and exactly like fig. 14, except as regards the legend on the reverse. This legend Mr. Dickson, in a Paper read before the Numismatic Society on the 19th May, 1876, conjectures may possibly be read Ṣrí Káligala Kija, but he is unable to determine to what reign the coin may belong, and does not consider the above reading at all certain. Not having the coin before me, I speak with great diffidence; but it seemed to me, when I once had the opportunity of inspecting it, to bear the legend *Ṣri Kálinga Lanḱeṣwara.* That the *anusvára* was not visible above the *ga* need not surprise us, as it was seldom visible on the Lankeṣwara coins ; and on those coins we usually find simply *Lakavara* for *Lankeṣwara*, the dot for the *anusvára*, the small stroke for the *e*, and the tiny *s* added above the *v* being rarely legible. Lastly, throughout the series, when there are six letters below the *Ṣri*, the last of the six is almost always cut in half or quite missing, which would explain the absence of the *ra*. If the reading I suggest should eventually prove to be correct, there can be very little doubt that the coin belongs to Niṣṣanka Malla. It is true that in the list of kings at section 45 it will be seen that there are five sovereigns, or six if Dharmásoka be included, who might have called themselves Kalingan Lords of Ceylon ; but if the coins were struck by any successor of Niṣṣanka Malla, he would probably have used some title which would distinguish him from that prince, the first of those to whom the legend would be applicable. Of all the later Kalingan princes we have coins, except of Mágha, who hated everything Siṇhalese, and of Wickrama Báhu, who only reigned for three months. *Kálinga Lankeṣvara* is one of the titles used by Niṣṣanka Malla in his inscriptions, and it is highly probable that he would imitate Parákrama the Great in his issue of coins, as he did in his inscriptions and his buildings.†

A figure of this coin is now presented for the first time.

It will be noticed that the last letter *ra* is omitted for want of space, as stated by Rhys Davids, but the small stroke for the *e* making *ka* into *ke* is distinctly visible.

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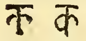
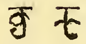
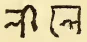
* The Colombo Museum has one specimen.

† Rhys Davids. *Numismata Orientalia* Part VI. section 66.

The Sin̥halese coins with Nágari legends date from 1153 A.D. (Parákrama the Great) to 1296 A.D. (Bhuvanéka Báhu). The only forms of the old Nágari alphabet which I could find are contained in Burnell's "Palæography," but they are of date posterior to the Sin̥halese coins, viz., the alphabet as prevalent *circa* 1400 A.D. and the Nandi Nágari of 1600 A.D. A comparison of the Nágari characters on the Sin̥halese coins, together with those given by Burnell and with the modern Nágari, is full of interest as showing the development of the Nágari alphabet through four distinct stages of its growth.

These are the characters appearing on the Sin̥halese coins :

... ṣri
 ... ka
... ká
 ... kra
... ké
... ha in Sahasa Malla
... hu in Báhu, letter not complete
... va
... vi
... ja in Vijaya and Ṣrí Rája Lilavati
... ja in Rája Rája
... ya
... ba
... bá
... pa
... ra
... rá
... ma
... ḷa
 ... li
... lá
... ta
... ti
... dha in Dhammasoka Deva
... ṣo
... de
... ne
... sa
... ga
... co, evidently an obliterated form of

... bhu

5. The Chairman: Does any Member wish to say anything on the subject?

Mr. Harward: I am anxious to know whether there is any trace in Ceylon of the *Nágari* character for any other purposes except the inscriptions on coins.

Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana stated that there were inscriptions in *Asoka* character, which is the oldest form of *Nágari*.

Mr. Harward: The question is, how is it that we have the modern *Nágari* character on the coins alone and not on anything else?

Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana: Because coins in Ceylon were made in imitation of those in India.

Mr. C. M. Fernando said that it was curious that they should have no inscriptions of that date—say between 1,000 and 1,500—in the *Nágari* character. These coins were traced to the time of Parákrama Báhu, and contained inscriptions in the *Nágari* character.* They had from India an earlier coin which Professor Rhys Davids had identified as the *Iraka* coin. That coin was dated about the sixth or seventh century of the Christian era. It was more generally considered that the letters on this coin were not *Iraka*, but ought to be read from right to left. The early coinage of Ceylon deserved a much fuller treatment than it had hitherto received.

This ended the discussion on this Paper.

5. Mr. Harward then proceeded to read a few extracts from the following Paper by Mr. Donald W. Ferguson (now of Croydon, England):—

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* More than one inscription in Mediæval Devanagari character has been found in Ceylon. For the finest see "*Epigraphia Zeylanica*," Vol. I., Part I., No. 1.—H. C. P. B.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN RÁJA SINHA II. AND THE DUTCH.

By DONALD FERGUSON.

WHEN the Honorary Secretary of this Society, Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., some dozen years ago was going through the Dutch records in the Ceylon Record Office, he came upon a number of letters in Portuguese, written by Rája Siṇha II. to the Dutch *commandeurs* in Galle and other Dutch officials between 1645 and 1660. These documents, which had suffered somewhat from neglect, Mr. Bell had repaired, and then arranged them in chronological order and numbered them. They number in all twenty-six, covering as I have said a period of fifteen years, and are apparently all that survive of the many epistles written by Rája Siṇha during his long reign of fifty-five years. When the others disappeared —in Dutch or in British times—it is impossible to say; but their loss is deplorable, and is due to either scandalous carelessness or to dishonesty. When we find an ex-Colonial Secretary of Ceylon coolly stating in his well-known book* that he has in his possession one of Rája Siṇha's original letters, one which had evidently been at some time in the Colonial archives, it is difficult to find words to express our feelings of amazement and indignation. It is to be hoped that stricter supervision of these old and invaluable Dutch

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* Tennent's *Ceylon*, 5th ed., Vol. II., p. 48 *n* (see *infra*).

records* will be exercised henceforth. When the history of Ceylon during the Dutch period comes to be written these documents will yield an immense amount of valuable material.

Some or all of the letters under notice were examined in the year 1838 by Mr. George Lee, C.C.S. ; † for on the back of the letter of August 10, 1651, is written "Examined, G.L., February 23, 1838," and "Principally Raja Singha's correspondence." The letters are in several handwritings, and vary considerably as regards caligraphic ornamentation ; while the ink, which in the earliest letter is jet black, is in several of the later ones of a yellow tint. All of the letters are subscribed with the royal sign-manual ශ්‍රී, and it will be noticed that in the superscriptions the titles adopted by the king are on a crescendo scale.‡

As the earliest letter of this series is by no means the first written to the Dutch by Rája Sin̥ha, I have thought it well to take the accession of this monarch to the throne as the initial point in my Paper, and to give from other sources details necessary to the proper comprehension of the correspondence. I have made my translation as literal as possible, preferring to sacrifice elegance to accuracy. The tone of the letters, it will be noticed, varies exceedingly, being at times polite to excess, and at others blazing out into fierce anger. One cannot help sympathizing to some extent with the writer, though the wrongs he complains of were largely the consequence of his own double dealing. § It was a case of "diamond cut

* The Portuguese records in Ceylon had disappeared by the beginning of the eighteenth century, what the rats and white-ants had spared being burnt by a vandal in the guise of a Dutch Secretary at the order of a soulless Dutch Governor (see Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 174, 307, 348).

† Apparently in connection with his "Report on the Pearl Fisheries of Ceylon" (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 180).

‡ None of them however approaches in bombast the introduction to Rája Sin̥ha's first letter to the Dutch (see *infra*).

§ Rája Sin̥ha's duplicity in his dealings with the Dutch is forcibly set forth by Mr. W. van Geer in his *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag over Ceilon*, a work of the utmost value, which badly needs translating into English.

diamond" with Rája Siṃha and the Dutch, and although in the later part of his reign the king managed to keep on fairly good terms with his "faithful Hollanders," he must often have bitterly regretted having invited them to Ceylon to oust the Portuguese. Truly he found the "ginger" hotter than the "pepper."*

In the year 1632[1] King Senarat died, the kingdom having been previously divided between his son Rája Siṃha and his nephews Kumárasiṃha and Vijayapála,[2] Úva and Mátalé being allotted respectively to the last two, who did not however for long enjoy their possessions, the first being poisoned,[3] and his brother, after a useless struggle with Rája Siṃha, going over to the Portuguese, by whom he was sent to Goa, where he was baptized in 1648 and died in 1654.[4] During his father's lifetime Rája Siṃha had taken an active part in the engagements with the Portuguese, having been present at the disastrous defeat and massacre of Constantino de Sá and his army in August, 1630, and having subsequently (though unsuccessfully) besieged Columbo. The Portuguese, having received reinforcements from Cochin, Goa, and Malacca in October, 1631, made fresh incursions into the Kandyan territories, but were compelled by the young prince to withdraw to Colombo.[5] It was therefore considered advisable on the part of the Portuguese to come to terms with the enemy, and (as already mentioned in a note) a treaty of peace was concluded and signed at Goa on April 15, 1633. This treaty does not, however, seem to have been very strictly observed; and the young king, feeling his position intolerable, resolved to call in the aid of the Dutch,[6] between whom and Senarat all relations had been broken off since the time of Boschhouwer's escapades. Accordingly,

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* See Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 107, and C.A.S. Jl., X., p. 154.

on September 9, 1636, Rája Siṉha addressed the following letter[7] to the Governor of the Dutch settlement at Palikat:—

I, Raya[8] Singa, Emperor of the Island of Ceylon,[9] King of Candy, Zetivaca,[10] Danbadany, Anorayapore, Jafnapatan,[11] Prince of Ove,[12] Mature, Dinavaca, the Four Corlas,[13] Grand Duke of the Seven Corlas,[14] Matalte, Earl of Catajar, Trinquelemale,[15] Batecalo, Velafebuitena,[16] Dumbra, Panoa, Patoveta,[17] Putulaon,[18] Vassare,[19] Gale, Billigaon, Marquis of Duramira,[20] Ratenura,[21] Tinipane,[22] Axcepaon,[23] Lord of the Ports of Alicaon, Caliture,[24] Columbo, Negumbo,[25] Chilao, Madampe, Calpentyn,[26] Ariputure, Manaar, and of the Pearl-fishery, &c.[27]

I inform the Governor of the fortress of Paliacatta of the good success that my operations against the Portuguese[28] have had; although I know that you are aware of certain events, yet for your assurance I shall detail these more fully to you herein. The first is, that the Emperor deprived the Portuguese[28] of two forts, named Walane[29] and Forago,[30] and the town of Marua Goma,[31] with 500 Portuguese and captains of war,[32] beside many monks of various orders. At that time the General was Don Nuno Alvares Perere; and, maybe overwhelmed with such a loss, he sought to make peace with us, and especially with regard to the prisoners whom the Emperor had taken from them, which peace was made with the release of the aforesaid prisoners of war.[33] At that time Constantinus de Zaã[34] succeeded as General and Governor, eleven years after the peace was concluded. The villanies that they practised were various, such as that by treachery they conquered Jafnapatan, and erected the fortress of Batecalo and Trinquelemale, and, on the Emperor's wishing to oppose this, gave as reasons that they had certain tidings that some enemies from Europe wished to fortify themselves in the above-named ports, and they erected the fortresses for the protection of the Island. All this was done by great fraud; for after the expiry of a year, although we had a monk[35] in Candy as hostage, they attacked the imperial dominions in full force, although the late Emperor (in order not to break his royal word) had set the monk at liberty. After that, when the enemy had again withdrawn, this Empire devolved upon me,[36] which enemies eleven months afterwards again began to maraud, so that we went out to Ambatana to meet them, and drove them back to their territory with some loss; and seven months after that the aforesaid enemies came again, well equipped, to attack the Principality of Ove,[37] where we had a battle, and the victory was on our side, at which time the native rebels came over to me as my lawful subjects, whereby the enemy was greatly weakened, so that our troops held the field, slaying the General and the Sergeant-Major, with the Captain of Dinavaca, beside 400 soldiers and the captains taken prisoners, and the *Maistre de Campo*,[38] the Captain *Moors*[39] of the Seven Corlas and

Matura, with 300 soldiers, among whom were several captains and ensigns.[40] We also captured a fort in Mantea Ravane,[41] with 100 Portuguese and their captains, and another fortress in Sofragaen, with three companies, destroying also two other forts of the aforesaid enemy. At about this time I besieged the city of Columbo, keeping the gates closed for more than thirty days, when, finding myself unwell, I returned again to Candy, leaving my army under Mara Tana Wandaar, who fifteen days after my arrival there departed thence, thus giving the enemy an opening, and so hindered me in the war for a year and a half. Afterwards this captain went over to the rebels. Moreover with my army I attacked the territories of my enemies, fortifying myself in the Four Corlas in a place named Ganetena, doing much harm for six months to the aforesaid enemies, during which time there came from Goa to Columbo as Governor and General Diego de Melo de Castro [formerly Governor of S.Thomæ[42]],who sued for peace, which I granted him, because I knew that the country was being ruined by war, and because the aforesaid General, in the name of his king, gave me a promise and swore by his God, abandoning the forts of Trinquelemale and Batecalo, whereupon all prisoners were released.[43] Thirteen months after this peace had been concluded the Governor of Batecalo gave help to some rebels to murder a governor of my territories, harbouring the aforesaid rebels,[44] shortly afterwards plundering a champan [or boat] coming to me ; and beside this they are still continually busy concocting treachery against my kingdom, wherefore, having seen their faithlessness for so long a time, with us as also with other Indian kings, I have resolved to expel these enemies, and shall become a brother-in-arms of the King of the Hollanders so long as sun and moon shall endure,[45] and the Viceroy of Jacatara shall render me assistance, and the Governor of Paliacatta, in order to further the good of the Dutch nation, hoping that all shall fall out well according to my good purposes.

I, the King, inform the Governor of Paliacatta that seven years ago this Empire devolved upon me, and from that time I sought to know who in Europe was the mightiest king to oppose the Portuguese, and not only heard that the King of the Hollanders was their scourge, but I also learnt of the good understanding that the aforesaid King maintains with other kings and his friends and allies, as well as of the trustworthiness of the Governor of Paliacatta. Wherefore I have resolved that, so long as sun and moon shall endure,[46] I shall become a brother-in-arms to the King of the Hollanders, and although my late predecessors in former times made treaties with the Viceroy of Jacatara and the Governor at Paliacatta, it has so far been of no effect. It appears that it was God's pleasure that this should be dealt with in my time, and I trust (with God's help) that we shall bring these matters to a conclusion, I relying upon the Governor of Paliacatta that as soon as possible he will do this, he trusting in my royal word. If they wish

to erect a fort at Cotiar or at Batecalo they may come with five ships, which are enough against the present strength of the enemy. I shall afford them every assistance either in my own person or that of my brother, and I shall give them all the booty and artillery, or if it please them the aforesaid port of Batecalo, and shall supply them at Cotiar with all things necessary to the building of a fort, binding myself to pay all that the Governor may spend over the said fleet with my royal word, and in whichever of the said ports it shall best please them to assist me I bind myself to bear all. In case the Governor approves of this, as in past times, he can send a vessel to Trinquelemale or Cotiar, in order that my envoys may go therein with safety, and if it shall be possible that these matters be brought to effect by the Governor, it shall be requited by me according to the merit of the person, and if not he will be pleased to forward the bearer of this letter to the Viceroy of Jacatara.

Given, September 9, 1636.

(Signed) RAJA SINGA, Imperador.

This letter was intrusted to a Brahman, who had to wait six months at Jaffna before he could find an opportunity of getting across to the Coromandel Coast, where he delivered it to the then Governor of Palikat, Karel Reyniers or Reinersen, who at once forwarded it to the Governor-General at Batavia, Anthony van Diemen, and the Council of Netherlands India. These had already been deliberating as to how best to obtain a share of the much-coveted Ceylon cinnamon trade, which their Portuguese rivals were monopolizing;[47] and they immediately resolved to accede to the Kandyan king's request. Accordingly, instructions were given to Adam Westerwold, who was leaving Batavia with a fleet for the blockade of Goa, to call at Ceylon on his return voyage, and meantime a message was sent to Reyniers to dispatch some trustworthy person to Ceylon to arrange matters with Rája Sinha. Accordingly, Reyniers chose as envoys the skipper Jan Thyssen,[48] who had been a prisoner in Ceylon, and therefore knew something of the Island, and the merchant Adriaen Helmont. These left Palikat on October 21, 1637, in the yacht *Valck* for Ceylon, and on the 29th, to avoid capture by the Portuguese, effected a landing by night at Kalmunai to the south of Batticaloa. After some delay, owing to the King having to be informed of their arrival,

the envoys set out by way of Sammanturai, and, arriving at Pangaragammana on the east bank of the Mahawẹli-gan̥ga on November 19, were received the same evening by Rája Sin̥ha in his residence on the west bank of the river.

To him they presented their credentials in the form of a letter[49] from the Governor of Palikat, dated October 20, 1637, acknowledging receipt of the King's missive of the previous year, reminding Rája Sin̥ha of the wars which the Dutch nation had for some time been carrying on with the Portuguese, and stating that if the King would grant them the export trade in cinnamon they would be pleased to supply him with arms and ammunition to fight the Portuguese. The letter added that, if this were agreed to, a message would be sent to the Admiral of the Dutch fleet before Goa for the detaching of some vessels to transport cinnamon or to help the King. Frequent interviews took place between the King and the envoys, during which the former received from his cousin, the Prince of Mátalé, a letter[50] which had been addressed to him by the Portuguese Governor of Colombo, complaining bitterly of Rája Sin̥ha's bad faith in dealing with the Hollanders, whom he described in no measured language. He added that he had informed the Viceroy at Goa of the King's treachery.

On November 27 Rája Sin̥ha dispatched the Dutch envoys, sending with them three Sin̥halese deputies to view and report on the Hollanders' fleet at Goa. He also addressed a letter,[51] dated from "Vintane, November 28, 1637," to the Admiral of the Dutch fleet before Goa. In this letter, which was delivered to Admiral Westerwold on December 19, the King stated that he sent his deputies to conclude terms with the Admiral; that he wished five ships to be sent to capture the fortress of Batticaloa and erect another in that port, and to take away all the cinnamon that might be there;[52] that he learned that the Admiral was to leave Goa for Jacatara in April, calling, if possible, on the way thither at Colombo, whence he was to send three ships for the capture of Batticaloa,[53] that he himself would proceed to Colombo,

which city, if God should give them the victory, should, he pledged his royal word, be for the Dutch and himself jointly, and he would make an agreement with the Admiral regarding all the pepper and cinnamon in the Island; that it would, therefore, be best for the Admiral to come with his full force, that a peace might be arranged, or, if he could not come himself, send a trustworthy person instead. The Sinhalese deputies were eye-witnesses of the engagement that took place on January 4, 1638, between the Dutch and Portuguese fleets off Goa, in which the former gained a notable victory, which gave the envoys a favourable idea of the strength of the Hollanders.[54]

Meanwhile there had joined the Dutch fleet the ship *Hertogenbusch* from Surat with the Vice-Commander Willem Jacobsz Coster;[55] and it was resolved to send the latter to Ceylon in command of the ships *Texel*, *Kleyn*, *Amsterdam*, and *Dolfyn*, manned by 190 men,[56] to apprise Rája Sinha that a further force would follow in May, and meanwhile to give him any assistance he required against the Portuguese.[57] By the same opportunity the Sinhalese envoys returned to Ceylon, bearing a letter[58] to Rája Sinha from Admiral Westerwold, in which the latter promised to come himself with three more ships if the blockade of Goa were raised by the end of April, and asking the King meanwhile to make all needful preparations for an assault on the Portuguese fort at Batticaloa, and also to have in readiness two or three shiploads of cinnamon. This expedition left Goa on March 17 and arrived on April 3[59] at Trincomalee, where the Sinhalese ambassadors landed and proceeded to Kandy to deliver the Admiral's letter and inform the King of the arrival of the Dutch vessels.

Meanwhile the Portuguese General of Colombo, Diego de Mello de Castro, had from threats proceeded to more vigorous measures, in order, if possible, to prevent the attempted alliance of the Sinhalese and the Dutch. Accordingly, in March, 1638, he marched on Kandy with an army of 700 Portuguese and 28,000 lascoreens, and reaching the capital

to find it deserted, plundered and set fire to it. When, however, he attempted to retreat to Colombo he found the way blocked by felled trees and ambushes of archers; Rája Siṇha having obtained reinforcements from the Prince of Mátalé, whilst many of the lascoreens deserted the Portuguese, the latter suffered a disastrous defeat, their army being almost annihilated, the General himself perishing, and only thirty-three Portuguese surviving, to be carried captives into Kandy.[60]

On April 8 Coster arrived before Batticaloa, and on the 9th landed and set about preparing for the attack on the Portuguese fort. On May 10 Admiral Westerwold arrived with five more ships and a large force of men, landing next day, and on the 14th[61] Rája Siṇha arrived by land with his army. An interview and interchange of gifts took place next day between the King and the Admiral,[62] and on the 18th the Portuguese garrison surrendered and the Dutch took possession of the fort.[63] On the 23rd a treaty,[64] consisting of nineteen articles and an added one, was signed by Rája Siṇha and Admiral Westerwold and Coster. By the terms of this the Dutch were to secure a practical monopoly of the export trade of Ceylon[65] in return for their assistance to the King in ships, men, and munitions of war, the expenses of which, however, were to be borne by the Siṇhalese monarch, who was also to hold no further communication with the Portuguese, and was to expel from his dominions all priests, monks, and other ecclesiastical persons, the causes of all disturbances and the ruin of kingdoms and countries. The third article provided that all Portuguese forts captured should be garrisoned by the Dutch, and if necessary repaired at the King's expense. It will be seen further on that this article gave rise to endless trouble, and was the cause of a rupture between the allies.[66] Admiral Westerwold left for Batavia on June 4, leaving Coster and 105 men in the fort, which was repaired, the defences being increased by the addition of cannon from the Dutch ships.[67] With the Admiral went two Siṇhalese ambassadors, bearing a letter

and presents to the Governor-General and Council of the Indies. Some cinnamon, wax, and pepper was also conveyed by the vessels to Batavia and Palikat.[68]

On August 12 Coster, impatient at hearing nothing from Rája Sinha, who had returned to Kandy and was occupied in engagements with the Portuguese in the vicinity of Colombo, left Batticaloa and reached the royal court near Kandy on the 27th, obtaining from the King verbal and written permission for free trade between the natives and the Dutch and a promise of further supplies of cinnamon, wax, and pepper.[69]

On August 11 the Council at Batavia wrote to Coster a long letter,[70] informing him of the departure for Goa of Antonio Caen with a fleet of twelve ships, and stating that they had appointed Jacob van Compostel to succeed Coster provisionally on the latter's departure from Ceylon, for which permission was granted. At the same time that the above letter was dispatched the Sinhalese envoys left Batavia bearing a reply[71] from the Governor-General and Council to Rája Sinha's letter. This reply expressed satisfaction at the capture of Batticaloa, and announced the Council's confirmation of the treaty made by Admiral Westerwold with the King; the writers also took care to impress on their royal ally that they wanted a good quantity of good cinnamon, wax, pepper, &c., and concluded with a request that the King would present the Governor of Palikat with "two beautiful tame elephants as a pledge of our acknowledged services and special friendship." The ambassadors arrived at Batticaloa on October 29 by a chaloupe from Palikat, which also brought Jacob van Compostel to relieve Coster.[72] On April 18, 1639, a fleet of twelve Dutch ships, manned by 980 sailors and 335 soldiers and armed with 364 cannon, under the command of Admiral Antonio Caen, with Coster as Vice-Admiral, arrived from Goa in the bay of Koṭṭiyár,[73] and measures were at once set afoot for the reduction of the Portuguese fort of Trincomalee, the small garrison of which, after a short but ineffectual resistance,

capitulated on May 2.[74] During the progress of the siege the Uppermerchant Jacob van Compostel, who had gone on an embassy to Kandy, arrived from Batticaloa with a letter from the King; but as it was untranslated the Dutch could not understand its purport. Sr. van Compostel, however, reported that Rája Siṇha had resolved to remain in the low country in the vicinity of Colombo, lest the inhabitants should assist the Portuguese to re-occupy Malvána and "Manicawara," which they had abandoned. The King however promised to send a mudaliyár with 4,000 men to assist the Dutch in the conquest of Trincomalee and Jaffna. As a matter of fact, the Dutch had been in the fort of Trincomalee nearly two hours when two mudaliyárs appeared with 3,000 men, which makes one suspect that they had lain *perdus* until their allies had done all the fighting.[75] The mudaliyárs also brought some letters from the King, but they seem to have been of no particular moment. The Siṇhalese not being prepared to keep the fort without the assistance of the Hollanders, arrangements were made for leaving a Dutch garrison there on the same conditions as those made with regard to Batticaloa. The proposed attack on Jaffna was discussed, but seems to have been abandoned owing to the King's apparent disinclination to take part in it.[76] Thyssen having been appointed Governor of Batticaloa in place of Coster, and the Fiscal Gerard Herbers Commandant of Trincomalee, the fleet sailed on May 27 for Batticaloa,[77] there accompanying it three Siṇhalese ambassadors bearing two letters from Rája Siṇha, one in Tamil and the other in Portuguese, but substantially the same in purport, also some presents to the Council of India. The latter appear by this time to have formed a very decided opinion regarding the untrustworthiness of the King of Ceylon and his fellow-countrymen, and of the unreliability of the former's promises; but after considering Rája Siṇha's urgent request to send a force to attack Colombo, and hearing the opinions of his envoys and those of Caen and Coster, they resolved to put aside the claims of Amboina, Malacca, and Macao, and to

comply with the Sinhalese king's wish.[78] They decided, however, that fresh and more binding agreements must be made with the King, and that every place taken from the Portuguese must be occupied by the Dutch forces. Moreover, to prevent Rája Sinha's acting as he had done on former occasions, it was determined that 200 Dutch soldiers should accompany him in his march on Colombo.

On August 25, 1639, therefore, the skipper Minne Willemsz Caertekoe was dispatched with two yachts for Batticaloa to apprise Thyssen of the Council's intentions, and conveying a letter from the Governor-General and Council to Rája Sinha, in which the King was told of the proposed plan of action, and was begged not to fail this time in the fulfilment of his part. In order to give the King no cause of offence, the letter made no reference to his former laches.[79] Just a month later, on September 25, 1639, nine more ships sailed from Batavia direct for Colombo, under the command of the Director Philips Lucasz, to whom an ample commission had been given for the making of treaties, movement of troops, &c. Altogether the force for the attack on Ceylon consisted of 734 sailors, 944 soldiers, and 252 natives. Coster was Vice-Commander, and Sergeant-Major Adriaan Anthonisz third in command.[80] The fleet did not make landfall on the east coast of Ceylon until December 2, and the first place at which anchor was cast was Trincomalee, where things were found to be in a terrible state from want of provisions and sickness, Rája Sinha having not only failed to send supplies to the garrison, but forbidden his subjects to do so. Lucasz relieved the famished soldiers, and sent the King an urgent request to fulfil his promises better and to march on Colombo in person with his forces. Leaving Trincomalee, the fleet arrived early in January, 1640, before Colombo, where the Admiral found Caertekoe's two yachts lying, but no signs of Rája Sinha's army or the small Dutch force under Thyssen. This fact, added to the information he had obtained along the coast between Trincomalee and Colombo, confirmed Lucasz in his suspicions

of the King's bad faith;[81] and seeing that it was a hopeless task to attack Colombo from the sea, he proceeded further northwards and anchored off Kammala,[82] five miles from Negombo, where on January 29 his forces were joined by the combined Sinhalese and Dutch army, 15,000 strong, which had hitherto been held in check by the Portuguese, who had now retired on Colombo in anticipation of an attack on that fort. A Portuguese force sent from Colombo under the command of Francisco Mendoça having been defeated, the Dutch on February 9 attacked Negombo, and took it by storm with but little loss of life. The fort was occupied by a Dutch garrison, and the repair of the fortifications was taken in hand.[83] Rája Sinha appears to have taken offence at what he considered the endeavours of Admiral Lucasz to alter the terms of the treaty of 1638, and also at the conduct of the Dutch in repairing the fortifications of Negombo instead of razing them, and he withdrew in dudgeon into the jungle. This action created a suspicion among his allies that he was going to attack the small garrisons of Batticaloa and Trincomalee, and Jan Thyssen was therefore sent by sea to warn them. Admiral Lucasz, who had been ailing ever since his departure from Batavia, now became very unwell, and therefore delegated his powers to Coster and sailed for Batavia on February 21, dying on the voyage. Soon after his departure Coster made fresh terms with Rája Sinha, by which it was agreed that the fortress of Trincomalee was to be surrendered to the King and dismantled (which took place on April 20), the ammunition being equally divided, and the King sending ten elephants to Batticaloa; that when the Portuguese had been finally expelled from the Island the Dutch were to possess only one fortress, but that they should occupy Negombo and the other forts until all the expenses of the war had been paid; that when Colombo was taken it was to be entirely demolished, unless the King desired that one or other fort should be garrisoned, which was to be done by Dutch soldiers; also that the booty and prisoners were to be shared by the allies.[84]

These terms having been settled, Paulus Pietersz and 128 men were left to garrison Negombo, and on March 3 the fleet sailed for Galle. The Dutch ships reached Galle on March 8, Jan Thyssen arriving from the east coast the same day. On the 9th the troops were landed, and after a severe fight with a Portuguese force from Colombo and the opportune arrival of three more Dutch ships with 350 men on the 13th, the fortress of Galle was stormed and taken by the Hollanders, the Sinhalese, as usual, appearing on the scene after the fighting was over to share in the plunder.[85]

This was the most important conquest that the Dutch had effected in Ceylon, and it is no wonder that the news was received in Batavia with joy, and celebrated by a discharge of cannon.[86] Commander Coster remained in Galle as President, with a garrison of 196 Dutch soldiers under the command of Captain Walraven de St. Amand. Rája Sinha, however, still entertained suspicions of the good intentions of his European allies, the Portuguese probably doing their best to fan these suspicions. Accordingly, Coster, unable to obtain replies to several conciliatory letters addressed to the King, left Galle on July 4, with an escort for Kandy, where he arrived on the 15th, and had an interview with the King, an interchange of courtesies taking place. The same day there arrived from Batticaloa a Persian in charge of some dogs and falcons as a present to Rája Sinha, together with a letter from Jan Thyssen to the King. On the 18th Coster was admitted to an audience with the King, and handed him a letter,[87] written in Portuguese, in which the fulfilment was requested of various provisions of the treaty of 1638, and a further request was made for certain gardens or villages near the fort of Galle for supplying rations to the garrison, it being added, "the rule of war permits us to enjoy the aforesaid privilege so far as our cannon-balls can reach." On the 24th Coster received a written reply[88] from the King, who reaffirmed his willingness to fulfil in due season the provisions of the treaty of Batticaloa, at the same time pointing out that in that treaty nothing had been said as to

land within a cannon-ball's range belonging to a fort. Both before and after the interchange of these letters Coster's suspicions as to Rája Sinha's good faith had been strengthened, and the treatment that he received at the hands of the chiefs aroused his anger, so he finally informed the King of his intention to depart. On August 17 Coster set out for Batticaloa; and, after having had a further insult offered him by the King's minions, on the 20th reached Badullagammana, where he was overtaken by a mudaliyár with 400 or 500 armed lascoreens, who alleged that he had been sent to escort Coster. Next day, however, on reaching Nilgala, Coster was set upon by the Sinhalese, and he and the barber surgeon, three Dutch soldiers, and four native servants were murdered, the rest of his company being stripped, bound, and beaten. They were, however, subsequently released, and arrived in Batticaloa on September 1 with Coster's baggage.[89] On the 8th a letter reached Jan Thyssen from the King expressing regret at the death of Coster, and desiring that there should be no rupture of the treaty on account of this occurrence. Thyssen, apprehensive of evil results at Galle, set out thither with the Undermerchant Maarten Vinck, and arriving there on the 29th found that Captain St. Amand with two Dutch soldiers and some blacks had deserted to the Portuguese in Colombo, this having caused a good deal of alarm in Galle, which however had been allayed by the good sense of Lieutenant Swart.[90]

The condition of the Dutch garrisons in Galle and Negombo at this time seems to have been anything but satisfactory,[91] and reinforcements being sent from Goa by the new Portuguese Viceroy under the command of Dom Filippe Mascarenhas, after a short siege Negombo capitulated on November 9, the garrison being despatched to Palikat, but landing at Galle instead.[92] A very acrimonious correspondence thereupon ensued between Thyssen and the Portuguese Governor, in which mutual recriminations and charges of bad faith were indulged in.[93] To add to the vexation of the Hollanders, Rája Sinha showed little inclination to supply

them with the cinnamon and other merchandise which they so much desired, and for the sake of which they seemed willing to overlook insults and even personal violence. The Portuguese were not slow in following up their success, and not only drove the Sinhalese back from the lowlands, but practically hemmed in the Dutch in Galle, which, but for the arrival of reinforcements and the strengthening of the fortifications, might also have been retaken.[94]

Meanwhile Rája Sinha in 1641 dispatched four ambassadors to the Governor-General at Batavia with a letter acknowledging those sent to him during the previous eighteen months, and forwarding at the same time a lengthy document, in which he considered and answered *seriatim* the complaints of the Dutch.[95] These ambassadors also had an interview with the Governor-General, who informed them that, in spite of the treatment the Dutch had received at the hands of the Sinhalese monarch, further reinforcements would be sent to Ceylon to assist him against the Portuguese.[96] Accordingly, by February 10, 1642, a fleet of twelve ships had assembled off Colombo; but after hovering about for some time it abandoned the intended attack and left for Galle.[97]

Meanwhile Portugal, having thrown off the Spanish yoke in 1640 and proclaimed Dom João IV. as king, had entered into a treaty with the Netherlands, whereby a ten years' truce was agreed to. For various reasons, however, this armistice was not proclaimed throughout the East Indies by the Dutch until October, 1642, and even then it was not observed faithfully by either side, so that conflicts continued to take place during the ensuing years, culminating in an attack upon Negombo by the Dutch under François Caron in January, 1644, and its recapture by the Hollanders after a desperate resistance on the part of the Portuguese.[98] The latter then sent an embassy to the Sinhalese king, offering to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him against the Dutch, and protesting that they only desired to retain the territory which he and his predecessors had granted them. Rája Sinha kept their presents and

recommended them to regain possession of Negombo. This the Portuguese attempted to do; but after a three months' siege they were again, at the end of July, defeated with great loss and obliged to return to Colombo.[99]

Towards his Dutch allies the Sinhalese monarch continued to observe an attitude of alternate contemptuous indifference and ill-disguised suspicion; while his promises of material assistance remained for the most part unfulfilled.[100] On March 23, 1644, the wily King wrote the following letter[101] to Thyssen:—

After Mampe Rala had gone as disava of Mature, several faults were committed by him, for which reason I removed him from the said disava,[102] and placed in his stead Ecanaca Modliar, who had been disava of the Seven Corlas, and consequently I entertained him in the place that he had merited. When I had dispatched the said disava, I ordered that so long as he could maintain the lands of Mature, while residing outside, he should do so, and that whenever he could not do this he should betake himself with the black folk into that fortress of mine; if he comes to take up his residence therein, will Your Honour be pleased to shelter him?[103]

I had thought that this year it would have been possible for me to see Your Honour and to repay the *gastos*[104] that Your Honour had, on behalf of the Company, incurred in my service, with my black folk who assisted in that fort of mine the whole time that it was besieged, but God has not so willed it; wherefore send me the register thereof by Batticaloa that I may know what they amount to. Since that fort of mine Gale was besieged until Mampe Rala went thither, I several times sent from Batticaloa assistance of *maintimentos*[105] to that aforesaid fort of mine; and send together with the other said register a register of what they have delivered to Your Honour, so that I may know what they have furnished to you. When some days' journey from Maricarware[106] towards Cander,[107] I was told that the Hollanders had disembarked in Caliture or in Alican, in one of these two places, and that they had fortified themselves there, which I do not believe; but if it is true (except for carrying on trade and other business if they embark again), even though it were for my service or that it were found expedient by your council or in order to do harm to our enemies, they are not to disembark in order to fortify in any district of this island of Cheÿlon without my license.[108]

I was also told that a black woman of this island of Cheÿlon had been married to a Hollander in that fort of mine of Gale.[109] After the Portuguese established themselves in Colombo, whilst the natives of this island had no lawful and natural King who had the power to maintain and defend them, some of them were baptized, fed, and

clothed by the said Portuguese, and some women, casting honour and shame on one side, intermarried with them ; but now since by God's grace I am lawful and natural King, who intend to increase and preserve my law and customs, putting away the evil past customs of the Portuguese, Your Honour must not allow such marriages to take place. Nothing further suggests itself. God preserve Your Honour, &c. From this camp of Bilacam,[110] March 23, 1644.

(Signed) RAJJA SINGA.

Addressed :—To Jan Mathyssen, *captain moor*[111] of my fortress of Gale.

Before the above reached him Thyssen had written a letter[112] to Rája Siṉha, who replied as follows :—[113]

The letter written by Your Honour on March 21 reached this my court and city of Candia on April 3, seven days after my arrival from the low-country. From it I learnt that Your Honour was in good health, at which I was greatly rejoiced, owing to the love and good-will that I bear you, and, God willing, I shall also presently be of service to you. Beside the letter of Your Honour, I have seen another[114] from the admiral Francisco Caron, which he had left with Your Honour to send to me. I was glad that he departed from this port in good health,[115] and that Your Honour tells me that in the coming year we shall have a large reinforcement wherewith we should drive the enemy entirely out of this island of Cheÿlon ; I have greatly valued that, and I pray God that he bring the said admiral *in salvo* and fulfil for us our desires. Your Honour says in his letter that the admiral will leave a ship to go to Batticaloa, to take in the supply of eight elephants which remain of the 20, and any other goods ; it has not been possible for me to collect the goods this year, but I have the eight elephants and one that I promised to the said admiral Francisco Caron of 8 *covados*[116] and 50 *maons*[117] of wax. I do not doubt that all the things are now in Batticaloa ; but it has not yet been possible to have the letter to the Governor-General at Batavia[118] written, as I have been busy with the disturbances in the low-country which the Portuguese enemy instigated, but in three days from to-day I shall without fail dispatch it to Batticaloa.

I do not know what quantity of cinnamon there is at Mature, and only because Your Honour asks in his letter that I should send orders to my officers to deliver what has been gathered, I am ordering my disava and other officers of the districts of Mature to deliver it to Your Honour, for having last year ordered my disava of Batticaloar (*sic*) to deliver to the *commandeur* Pieter Boreel[119] the goods that were collected there, I not knowing the amount thereof, the Governor-General of Jacatra writes that the quantity was so small, that (in respect to the *gastos* that the Company had incurred in my service) it was not worth

entering in the books, and I, being shamed at this, have not ordered my officers to deliver the cinnamon, because I did not know the quantity thereof, but nevertheless it is proper that the goods that have been collected be delivered to Your Honour. In case the elephants that I have sent to Batticaloa are not embarked on board-ship and the ships cannot wait, will Your Honour order that the ships that come from Goa take in the cinnamon in this port of Gale, and on their way to Batavia call at Batticaloa to learn if the ship has taken my letter to the Governor-General of Jacatra, with the elephants, or not, and, if they have not been dispatched, that they embark in that monsoon with the said letter? And I am also ordering the factor who is at Batticaloa, that he keep that letter with him until a ship come from Goa to take it away.

Beside the lands that I conceded to the *commandeur* Pieter Boreel,[120] as soon as he has left for Goa to treat with the Portuguese regarding *treves*,[121] they turn on a fresh tack, in order for me to give more, [saying] that they had made peace with me and that they will spread abroad the same and in all haste make it public in all quarters: wherefore if any news of this comes to your knowledge let Your Honour give no credit thereto. With this I send an order to my disava of Mature, that he send to the people that are in that fort of mine all the provision he can, from the lands that are subject to me without disturbance from the enemy, and I also order him to prepare all the cinnamon he can.

In case the Portuguese came to these lands of Mature in order to prevent any goods being collected and any provisions being given to that fort of mine, and Your Honour saw that you could do them some injury and destroy them (that it may not happen as it did in Averaca),[122] first take good deliberation and my disava in your company, and if with God's favour we gain the victory and destroy the enemy, let my disava remain to restore the lands and do my service, and let Your Honour retire once more inside the fort; and if you see that you cannot get rid of most of the enemy, you shall only take care to guard that fort of mine until we shall take Colombo, which with God's favour shall be in the coming year,[123] &c. At present nothing further suggests itself. God preserve Your Honour, &c. Given in this court and city of Candia, April 4, 1644.

(Signed) RADIA SINGA.

On November 10, 1644, a truce was agreed to at Goa between the Viceroy and Mr. Joan Maatzuyker, who had been sent thither by the Council at Batavia for that purpose.[124] By one of the articles of this treaty Rája Sinha was made a party to it, though without his consent; and on January 10, 1645, the divisions of the limits of the territories in the Island of Ceylon over which each nation was to exercise

control were agreed to at Colombo. In this agreement also the Sinhalese monarch took no part, though he was apparently as a mere matter of form invited to assent to it.[125] That the Hollanders had little faith in the King's goodwill towards them is proved by the tone of the letters addressed to the Council at Batavia by Thyssen in 1644, and by the fact of Dutch troops being stationed in the newly acquired districts about Negombo.[126] Rája Sinha on his part was naturally annoyed at the cool manner in which the two European nations had partitioned territories which formed a portion of his dominions,[127] and on February 16, 1645, he wrote the following letter[128] to Maatzuyker :—

[1.]

The letters[129] which Your Honour[130] sent me from my fortress of Nigombo were delivered to me at this court on the 11th of February. In the first place I was very glad to hear the letter of the Governor-General of Jacatara, and in the second I appreciated it in that it was told me therein that Your Honour was coming with a very powerful fleet to render me many services, and that you were a person of high position and of great intelligence and parts.[131] In the partition of territories which Your Honours[132] made with the Portuguese, in so far as touches the dissavas[133] of Maturé and Seven Corlas, they were very well divided, although in the division of the Seven Corlas there was some inequality, since Uracápatú and half of Mendapatu, which fell to the Portuguese, are districts of Catugambala Corla, which at the time of the publication of the truces at Goa were on my side and subject to me. Putulaõ and Calpetj were never subject to Manar, and before the publication of the aforesaid truces I always had my vidanas in them and they were accustomed to obey me and were always under obedience to me and under my command. The Portuguese before they entered this Island of Ceilaõ came to Manar, and ever since then until this present time the aforesaid territories were never subject to Manar. As to the dissavas of Four Corlas and Sofragaõ, they deceived Your Honour like knaves as they are, for in the 3rd chapter of the truces to which Your Honours agreed at Goa it is written that matters remain at the point at which they had arrived at the time of their publication in Goa ; and when they were published I was in possession of Andapanduna, Guindigora Corla, Parnacurú Galbara Corla, all of which belong to the dissava of the Four Corlas, and in the lands of Bulatgama this side of the river of Gurugora in the dissava of Sofragaõ from the *garaveto* of Puápeti upwards,[134] and there would never have been this fraud if when Your Honours made the said partitions in Colombo you had first advised me, so that I might send a person from this my

court who might assist in them; but from this fraud I shall clear myself with the Portuguese during this year, which we have for doing it, as Your Honour points out in yours to me, and if they do not wish to come to an agreement I must make war on them, and not on that account must the friendship cease which I have with the Dutch nation as long as the sun and moon shall endure. In the articles of agreement respecting the partition of territories which Your Honours made with the Portuguese they make mention of Your Honours therein and not of me (whose are the said territories, and as the Governor-General of Jacatara wrote to me and Your Honour also in yours). I know that that did not originate on the part of Your Honours, but in the malice of the Portuguese from the fierce hatred which they bear towards me. And as these articles will be seen and published among many nations of the world, it is right that in the places in which Your Honours are named with respect to the partition of territories they should mention me, and remove [the names of] Your Honours, since the Governor-General of Jacatara wrote me in his that Your Honour would do nothing except what I wished and what should be to my liking. Your Honour moreover said in yours that in the Seven Corlas you had left a camp of 500 soldiers, and had the intention of leaving another in the parts about Maturé for the quieting of the territories. Your Honours being at peace with the Portuguese, and the same being the case between me and the Dutch nation, we do not fear any other nation that might disturb it; therefore let Your Honour order the said garrison to retire to my fortress of Nigumbo, seeing that its exit therefrom has been to no purpose, except to incur expense without profit; leaving that said fortress as well as that of Gale very well provided with men. If up to the present I was of opinion that the fortress of Nigumbo should not have a garrison, it was on the understanding that we had taken Colombo; but since Your Honours have made a truce with the Portuguese, it is well that there be there the said garrison, and from this time henceforth I shall sustain it with every necessary even as I sustain that at Gale and sustained that at Batecalou. If I have not hitherto contributed by the payment of the expenses which the Company has incurred in my service, it was because of the territories being in a state of disturbance up till now, as Your Honours know very well; but as now by the favour of God they are quiet, I am going to pay them very punctually according to the terms of our contract. It was not possible this year to obtain cinnamon in the dissava of Seven Corlas, even if in the little monsoon I had given orders and had distributed money throughout the territories for the purpose of obtaining the said cinnamon, but on account of the disturbances this did not take place. In the lands about Maturé some was obtained, and as to that I wrote to the Governor Joaõ Matheus[135] that if there were any movement of the Portuguese he should store it in my fortress of Gale, and if not it would remain in the bankshalls[136] in which it was. I do not know if they

stored that said cinnamon in my fortress or not. Anyhow I have already sent an order to my dissava of Maturé that all that is produced in those parts be sent to Your Honours. Regarding the remaining contributions according to our contract from these kingdoms of Candea, as Gale is far, I shall send by way of Batecalou : to wit, some tusked elephants and male and female *alias*, and whatever wax and pepper there may be, in satisfaction of the expenses incurred in my service, although I believe that there will not be a great quantity, and I shall reply to the Company through the Governor-General of Jacatara, and shall also send the present[137] which I have to send them.

I esteemed highly the honours which Your Honour informed me in yours the Governor-General of Jacatara had conferred upon Joaõ Matheus, Governor of the territory of the Hollanders, because of his being a person who has served me very well and who deserves all that may be conferred upon him.[138]

In the letter which the Governor-General of Jacatara wrote to me he said that the rest that there was to tell me he was referring to Your Honour with confidence that you would give me satisfaction in everything that might be according to my desire. As this is so, I shall esteem it a favour if Your Honour will send me to this my court a person of thorough confidence, that I may discuss with him many matters of importance which I have to communicate to him, and show him the affection and love which I bear towards the Dutch nation, and to communicate the things which the Governor-General of Jacatara tells me in his [letter] he has referred to Your Honour.

When the answer to this comes I shall repay to Your Honour the services that you have done me, and shall reply to your letter fully. At present nothing further suggests itself. God keep Your Honour,[139] &c. From Candea and from this my court on the 16th of February, 1645, &c.

After the above was written the Portuguese came into the lands which had submitted to my authority of the dissavas of Sofragaõ and Four Corlas, where my people engaged them and made them retire to the neighbourhood of Colombo. If they return once again I shall march against them, &c.

RAJA ශ්‍රී CINGA.

To the above letter Maatzuyker sent the following reply[140] :—

Most mighty Emperor,

Yesterday the last of February I received with due respect in Cruz de Gale Your Imperial Majesty's letter, and learnt with joy from the bearer of Your Majesty's good disposition and health, which God grant may so continue for many years to the advantage of His

Majesty's subjects and allies, among whom we are the first. We should indeed have wished not to have to undertake any division of lands with the Portuguese until some one had been commissioned on behalf of Your Majesty who might have assisted therein ; but I was not able to obtain sufficient time for that from the Viceroy Dom Philippo, who is about to leave for Goa,[141] but instead we have agreed that, in case it be found that we have been deceived, we may within the period of a year challenge it, as Your Majesty will have learnt from our previous letter, whereby everything remains safeguarded, while we shall be glad if Your Majesty will be pleased to point out wherein you have been prejudiced, in order that we may seek for reparation on his behalf. In like manner it is for the sake of the Portuguese that our name stands in the contract of the division and not Your Majesty's, to whom the lands properly belong ; on account of other princes and kings we shall do as Your Majesty requests, and it is also right to strike out our name and put Your Majesty's in place thereof. What Your Majesty says touching our camps near Negombo and their retiring inside that fortress shall, as, owing to the truce with the Portuguese, we have now no more enemies, be carried out in the near future. But as the lands are still, owing to the late war, full of highwaymen and rabble, who in the name of Your Majesty cause annoyance to the good inhabitants and drive them off their lands, it will be necessary for the aforesaid camps to remain in the field for some time yet until the lands have completely quieted down, as we confidently believe Your Majesty will understand in regard to us, for without this it will be impossible to obtain any fruits from the lands, wherewith to pay the expenses that we have incurred in Your Majesty's service. Meanwhile we shall not fail to hold Your Majesty's fortresses occupied by suitable garrisons, so that with God's help they shall be free from danger, of which may Your Majesty be pleased to rest fully assured, by whom also we expect that the aforesaid garrison will be provided with all necessaries, as promised in the aforesaid letter.

During the last monsoon we have received some 180 bhar of cinnamon, namely, 20 from Negombo and 160 bhars from the lands hereabouts, which we are taking with us to Batavia, and which shall be placed to Your Majesty's credit, hoping that Your Majesty will send to Batacaloa a good quantity of the further articles of merchandise of the contract, to take in which we have ordered a ship to be sent thither, as also for the transport of the envoys whom Your Majesty intends to send to the Governor-General, who I am certain will be acceptable to him.[142]

At present we cannot, to our regret, send any person of quality to court in order to treat with Your Majesty on several important matters, because our time for returning to Batavia is long overdue, and we could not wait for his return. Will Your Majesty kindly give orders to his envoys whom he shall send to Batavia to bring these before the Governor-General, from whose wisdom and discretion

Your Majesty has nothing but all good to expect, as he shall find me as regards the same his obedient servant. God keep His Majesty's person in health for many years. In Your Majesty's fortress of Gale, pro. March, 1645.

(Signed) JOAN MAETSUICKER.

So far from the king's request for the withdrawal of the Dutch troops to Negombo being complied with, on May 25 war was formally declared against him by Thyssen, and four of his elephants were seized within the royal boundaries by the Commandeur of Negombo, Nicholas Overschie.[143] This conduct of their representatives did not meet with the approval of the Council in Batavia, who recalled Thyssen, and sent Maatzuyker to take his place as Governor of Galle.[144] As soon as he arrived (on April 27, 1646), Maatzuyker addressed the King in two letters,[145] dated April 30 and May 4, in conciliatory terms, informing him that Thyssen and Overschie had been dismissed from their posts,[146] and that the elephants would be restored. He added, that when Rája Siṇha would be pleased to receive them a letter and presents from the Council to the King would be forwarded. Before these epistles, however, reached the enraged monarch he had sent the following indignant missive[147] to the commander of the Dutch camp in the Seven Kóralés :—

[2.]

Never had the Dutch nation entered this my Island nor had they enjoyed any fruit of it until I sent for them on account of the Portuguese continuing to surround my said Island with a number of fortresses. And so when I sent for them they came to it, and with my help and favour took several fortresses, peace being made between me and the Dutch nation as long as the sun and moon should endure, with the conditions that are in the treaties; and one of these is that I pay the expenses incurred in my service with the fruits and products of this my Island of Ceilaõ, as to this present hour I am ready and prepared to do punctually, and if I have not contributed and paid them it is on account of the wars which hitherto have been going on except that in so far as I had them I have always paid with the products that could be collected, beside favours, gifts, and presents[148] which I bestowed upon the admirals of the fleets that came to my help, and to other persons who from time to time have appeared at this my court (of which I do not wish to make too much), as to the

whole Dutch nation is manifest and clear ; and beside my contributing as stated above it is agreed in the said treaties that the Hollanders should remain in one fortress in this my Island of Ceilaõ which I should indicate to them. And in the meanwhile they advised me that the Dutch nation had made a truce with the Portuguese for ten years, and that I also had a share in it ; and as I had made peace with the said Hollanders I put myself with them in the aforesaid truce and in the partitions of territories which they made, as is evident from a letter[149] which I have from the Governor-General of Jacatara in which he tells me to take possession of them, leaving the Portuguese with theirs, in order to go on paying the expenses incurred in my service. And from what I now see I understand that everything is being done contrariwise, and that they wish to take all for themselves ; and on this account I am coming to place myself with my army in these lowland territories of mine, in order to see the many wrongs that they have done. And if you wish to stand by the peace which I have made with the Dutch nation as long as the sun and moon endure, and to receive the payment of the expenses which they have incurred in my service, do you, Sirs, go and place yourselves in the fortress of Nigumbo, and having taken there your counsel as abovesaid, advise me of what is just and right ; and if not, let not the Dutch nation afterwards say that peace was broken through my fault, but through theirs. Our Lord, &c. On the 1st of May, 1646.

RAJA SINGA ස Emperor
of the Island of Celiaõ.

Address :—To the Captain of the Fortification [*tranqueira*] of the Hollanders, &c.

[From] Raja Singa, Emperor of the [Island of] Ceilaõ, &c.

Indorsements (*in Dutch*):—(1) Original from His Majesty. (2) Received through Nigumbo to-day, 11th May, 1646. (3) Received through Nigumbo, 11th May, 1646.

Before the above reached Negombo Maatzuyker had addressed another letter to the King, dated May 10, in which he endeavoured in every way possible to appease the monarch's wrath.[150] Rája Siṉha had, however, already left Kandy for the low country, and on May 9 sent a second letter[151] to the commander of the Dutch camp in the Seven Kóralés, as follows :—

[3.]

The captain of the fortress of Nigumbo wrote me a letter[152] in which he tells me that he is waiting in hope of a reply from the ambassador[153] who came to Gale to order you[154] to withdraw to the

said fortress with all the soldiery, and that as this is so, whilst no reply comes thence you [*voçes*] will not vacate that fortress [*tranqueira*] without my order. And if any necessaries shall be lacking (since they are shut in there), a person of any quality can come to this my camp to appear before me and make known their wants and he shall be at once supplied. For I greatly desire that between me and the Dutch nation the peace which we have made should be preserved for ever. Our Lord, &c. On the 9th of May, 1646, &c. Since this was finished I remembered to notify to you that if an order comes from Gale and you depart without appearing before me the foreign nation will have occasion to say "What peace is this?" And as this is so, on the answer's coming from Gale, or before that, for the confirmation of our peace, I shall be very glad if you come and appear before me at this my camp and receive some rewards and gifts, and to that end I promise you that you can come and go freely without any fear.

Raja Singa, Emperor ශ්‍රී of the Island of Ceilaõ.

Address:—[To the] Captain of the Fortification [*tranqueira*] of the Hollanders. God preserve [?], &c.

[From] Raja Singa, Emperor of the [Island of] Ceilaõ, &c.

Indorsements (*in Dutch*):—(1) Sent by Captain Schiffers [?][155] on the 9th, and delivered to us on May 10, per express of the King. (2) Raija Singa. Received through Negombo, 14th May, 1646. (3) 1646. Original missive written May 9 by the King Ragia Singa to Captain [*sic*] at Nigombo.

Just after the above two letters had been received in Negombo there arrived there from Galle Mr. Adriaan van der Stel, who, after serving as Commandeur of Mauritius from 1639 to 1644, had been sent by the Company to Ceylon with reinforcements.[156] On May 13 he left Negombo with 143 soldiers and two cannon for the purpose of withdrawing the troops who were encamped in the Seven Kóralés; but coming into collision with the royal army, and by his imprudent conduct provoking an encounter, he and almost the whole of his force were killed or captured. Van der Stel's head was sent in a silver dish covered with a white cloth to the captain of the Dutch encampment, who buried it with military honours, and after a brief and futile resistance capitulated on May 15, he and his men, 280 in number, being also taken captives to Kandy.[157] In a letter[158] to the

Commandeur of Negombo, written shortly after these events, Rája Sin̥ha justifies himself as follows :—

[4.]

The letter from you [*voçe*] written on the 7th of May was presented to me at this camp of Manigala[159] on the 8th of the same. In it you told me that you were waiting in hope of a reply from Gale from the ambassador who came from Jacatara to order the withdrawal of the troops that were in Panaré to the fortress of Nigumbo ; and in the other which you wrote me on the 19th of the aforesaid month you told me nothing except that according to the reply that might come from the said ambassador you would advise me; and as I saw that one writing did not agree with the other I gave orders that my army should be got ready ; and in the meanwhile the Governor[160] who came from Gale to the said fortress came with a force, and arms and pieces of artillery, to render assistance to the aforesaid fortress of Panare ; and my people hoping for peace saw that he had come for war, placing himself with his camp in a village [*aldea*] called Paluvelgala,[161] where they did not allow them to pass, but surrounding them defeated them all, only 29 escaping alive, among whom were several officers. As soon as they brought to me the head of the said Governor I sent it covered with a white cloth to the captain of the fortress of Panare in order that he might perform over it the ceremonies conformable to his law and customs. The said captain on seeing this delivered up to me next day the said fortress with all the soldiers in it. Wherefore if the Dutch nation desire to hold to the peace which I made with Adam Vestrevolt at Baticalou, delivering up to me the fortress of Nigumbo, which on several occasions they have fortified against my order and command, which fortress must be razed, not one stone being left upon another, so that no other foreign nation will be able again to fortify itself therein ; and if the Dutch nation desire to hold to the aforesaid peace and agreement which I made with Adam Vestrevolt, I shall esteem it highly ; and if not, do not place the blame on me, and let them not say that peace was broken on my side. And to this I call God to witness. The Captain-Major with the rest of the officers of the fortress of Panaré begged me to give them leave to send this packet of letters to the fortress of Nigumbo, which I granted to them, and send it with this in order that you may order what they desire so that all may be delivered. Our Lord, &c. From this camp of Maningala on the 21st of May, 1646.

RAJA SINGA, Emperor ශ්‍රී of the Island of Ceilaõ.

On hearing of these disasters Maatzuyker wrote[162] on May 20 to Rája Sin̥ha, upbraiding him for his conduct to his allies, which would cause such rejoicing among the

Portuguese,[163] and asking him to say distinctly if he wished for peace or for war. On May 31 Maatzuyker wrote a further letter[164] to the king as follows :—

Joan Maatzuyker, Governor on behalf of the Hon. Company in Ceylon, wishes Your Majesty all possible blessings and welfare.

In place of getting an answer from His Majesty to my former missives we daily receive tidings that he permits our people, who are forbidden to commit acts of enmity, to be smitten to death near Nigumbo, and shown all enmity.

Moreover His Majesty had had ambassadors in Colombo to seek help from the Portuguese,[165] from which is to be concluded that His Majesty, notwithstanding our fair offer to give satisfaction, is minded to come to a regular war with the Hon. Company, wherefore we, according to the law of all nations, have resolved on our side also to oppose force to force.

To which end we are causing to be got ready four ships and some chaloups in order to occupy Batecalo, Cotjaar, and Trikoenmale, and to again take possession of the places formerly wrested from the Portuguese, &c.

Whilst occupied over this I have received His Majesty's letter[166] of the 21st of this month, in which he makes known his desire to maintain the contract made with Westerwolt, to which we are likewise inclined.

His Majesty is to a certain extent right in saying that we have wrongly taken possession of his lands.

No order was given therefor, but the Governor Jan Thyszoon considered this the best way of getting at the cinnamon ; but on the subject of the expulsion of Your Majesty's dessaves he shall be further spoken to and reprehended therefor.

The Councillors at Batavia are prepared to hand over to Your Majesty the aforesaid lands, having given this order with a view to reduce the expenses.

Will His Majesty be pleased to dispatch his dessaves ? They shall be received in accordance with their rank, always provided that His Majesty shall issue orders that all the cinnamon, beside the other fruits of his territories, be delivered to us, according to the contract, towards payment of the expenses incurred by us.

The fulfilment of this can take place within a few years if His Majesty will be pleased to take the trouble needful therefor.

This much as to the first point of the complaint.

Regarding Nigumbo, which His Majesty says was occupied by us against his wish, His Majesty expressly desired this in his missive of 16th February of last year,[167] in which it is stated that on account of the truce with the Portuguese our garrison should remain there and be paid for and maintained by Your Majesty, it being inadvisable to demolish the fortress, lest the Portuguese should immediately come and once more obtain a lodgment there.

The new fortifications which we have made there can be broken down at His Majesty's pleasure.

Nigumbo must be held for at least another year to see how the Portuguese behave themselves during the truce, of which they have so far given no good proofs in view of their faithlessness shown in Brazil.[168] And since now all the points of the complaint made by His Majesty have been hereby met, I doubt not that His Majesty will henceforth abstain from all acts of enmity.

The territories must be relieved of troops at the earliest opportunity, or the inhabitants will depart entirely, and there will afterwards be no cinnamon to peel, from which the payment of the expenses must come.

Thus it is also trusted that His Majesty will deliver up all our prisoners, which must take place first of all if terms of peace are to be concluded.

His Majesty's reply to this is requested at the earliest opportunity, in order that we may conduct ourselves accordingly, protesting, on failure of compliance with the foregoing, that we shall be guiltless of bloodshed, &c., as we are prepared to give His Majesty satisfaction in all that is proper, in the hope that His Majesty will choose peace.

Respecting the letters of the Councillors of Batavia and the presents,[169] let His Majesty be pleased once again to give orders that they be received with honour, &c., wishing further that God may be pleased to protect Your Majesty.

Meanwhile I remain,
Your Majesty's humble servant,

JOAN MAATZUYKER.

Before the above could reach him Rája Sinha had on June 1 addressed the following letter[170] to the Commandeur of Negombo :—

[5.]

It is thirteen days since I wrote from the camp at Maningala a letter[171] to the ambassador who came from Jacatara to Gale, and six since I wrote another[171] to you [*voçe*] from the same camp, in which I informed you that the black people of this my Island of Ceilaõ, wheresoever they might be, were my vassals by right, and that they went about wherever they wished, and that if you could prevent their doing this you should do so, and if not you should inform me that I might put a stop to it. There has been sufficient time for the answer to come to what I wrote to Gale as well as to what I wrote to you. And it is five days since I encamped with my army in this place Tamaravilla,[172] and to-day up to ten o'clock of the day I have received not one of the aforesaid replies, and as it is great I cannot endure

such trouble to no purpose. Our Lord, &c. Tambaravilla, to-day the first of June, 1646.

RAJA SINGA, Emperor ශ්‍රී of the Island of Ceilaõ.

Address :—To the Captain of the fortress of Nigumbo. God [keep ?], &c.

[From] Raja Singa, Emperor of the [Island] of Ceilaõ.

Indorsements (*in Dutch*) :—(1) Received *primo* June, 1646. (2) 1646, original missive written by the King of Candia to the Captain of Nigombo from Tambaravilla *dato primo* June.

Ten days later the king sent another letter[173] to the Commandeur of Negombo as follows :—

[6.]

In the letter that I wrote to you, Sir, on the 26th of May,[174] I informed you that when the answer came to what I wrote to the ambassador who came from Jacatara, I should reply to yours in conformity to your wish. The answer which has come from Gale does not reply to that which I wrote to him, for putting my letter on one side he has written what he likes.[175] With this goes a letter[176] for the said ambassador in which I request him to reply to me definitely with something certain. I also grant him the permission which he begged of me in one [letter] that he wrote me on the 10th of May,[177] to come and present himself before me and discuss with me certain affairs of importance, and bring me the letter and the present which the Councillors of the States of India sent me from Jacatara. The bearers of this are two lasquarins, natives of this my Island of Ceilaõ, one of them of the Moorish race ; with them go four other persons, natives of the same [Island], to accompany them.[178] Will you send them on with all possible dispatch by a safe road and without risk ? At present nothing more suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this camp at Tamaravila on the 11th of June, 1646.

RAJA SINGA, Emperor ශ්‍රී of the Island of Ceilaõ.

Address :—To the Captain of the fortress of Nigumbo. God keep you, &c.

From Raja Singa, Emperor of the Island of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*) :—Received June 11, 1646.

To the letter sent with the above for Maatzuyker the latter replied on June 21 in the following vigorous language :—[179]

His Majesty's letter of the 10th instant has been duly received, but found to be of a different purport from what was expected.

His Majesty says that it is not right to seek peace from kings with threats of war, but His Majesty is not so high, nor we on the other hand so low, that we should not be allowed to speak the truth.

His Majesty did not speak so, Anno 1640, when he received us as defenders of his kingdom.

They are no threats, but warnings. Nor do we seek for peace as if powerless, but invite the same, or, on a refusal, a just war, being assured in mind that we have no blame therefor.

To restore Nigumbo, that we are willing and moreover ordered to do, but in such relations as we now stand towards His Majesty, this shall never happen to all eternity, or His Majesty must drive us out therefrom by force.

At present not a laryn has yet been paid for the expenses of Nigumbo's conquest, wherefore the restitution is demanded without justice, and in a manner unbecoming such a king.

Of our prisoners no mention is made in His Majesty's letter, and without the restoration of these we can come to no peace.

Our intention is to maintain peace and the treaty, according to the contract of Westerwold, provided that His Majesty first and before all else release our people, and issue orders that the cinnamon, &c., be delivered to us; on fulfilment of which to our satisfaction we are quite ready to resign the government of the districts to His Majesty.

The translation of Their Honours' letter goes enclosed in this for His Majesty's information.

To the above letter Rája Siṇha did not deign to send a reply, breaking off all further epistolary intercourse with the Dutch, and retiring with his army to Kandy. After waiting for nearly three months Maatzuyker addressed another letter[180] to the King, dated September 11, as follows:—

According to letters from our prisoners in Candi[181] it would seem that we have neglected to reply to His Majesty's letters, which is to be wondered at, as we, since our letter of 21st June, have received no letter from His Majesty, but have only understood from some deserters that His Majesty has broken up his camp at Caymel[182] and has returned to Candi.

God be our witness, that as yet we seek to maintain the contract of Westerwolt, provided that His Majesty do so as well.

It appears that peace is desired on both sides.

His Majesty desires *perforce* the surrender of Nigumbo, and we had rather the assurance of the payment of our war expenses.

In order that we may both come to something of an agreement it will be best that we occupy Nigumbo for six to eight months more, since it may easily come to an outburst of open war between us and the Portuguese.

Also, that His Majesty leave us for two to three years more in possession of these districts, in order that we may find payment in cinnamon for our expenses incurred, and thus also diminish to a great extent His Majesty's debt.

We shall also be able to see meanwhile what and how much the neighbourhood of Nigumbo can produce.

After which time His Majesty is assured in the name of our masters that we shall hand over to him all the districts without retaining any, except the fortress of Gale.

If His Majesty accepts these conditions he is begged to reply thereanent, and with the answer to send some of our people, and especially to dispatch the clerk Nicolaus Loenius.[183]

This letter also failed to evoke any reply from Rája Sinha; and after a lapse of four months Maatzuyker sent the King the following missive,[184] dated January 8, 1647:—

We have as yet received no answer from His Majesty to any of our letters, though the law of nations and kings requires that there should always be answers to letters on both sides.

The conditions offered by us are much too favourable to be cast to the winds by His Majesty.

Wherefore we suppose that our former letters have not reached His Majesty's hands, or that His Majesty must be deceived by tattlers our enemies.

In order to get at the exact truth and know for certain how His Majesty is minded, it is thought well to dispatch the merchant Maarschalk[185] as commissioner.

If His Majesty be pleased to hear him, a passport will be expected for this purpose, under promise of allowing him to return unhindered, whether it be peace or war.

More than six months elapsed, and at length, on July 27, a letter,[186] dated July 12, was received from the King, to which Maatzuyker replied[187] on August 11 in the following conciliatory strain:—

His Majesty's letter of 12th July we received on the 27th of the same, and have learnt therefrom with sorrow of His Majesty's prolonged illness,[188] hoping that the restored health of His Majesty may last long.

The commissioner who was referred to in our last shall be dispatched at an early date by way of Baticalo.[189]

I should myself come before His Majesty if the orders of my masters permitted this, as being still ready to follow religiously and sacredly the contract made with Westerwolt.

The past troubles have not happened through our fault, nor are they to be imputed to His Majesty, but to false tongues and wicked men, in whom His Majesty is begged not to put trust lightly, but to take into consideration the faithful services that we have rendered to his crown, without expecting any other reward than the maintenance of the contract and friendship.

On August 21 Maatzuyker again wrote as follows[190] to the King :—

At present the commissioner, Laurens Maarschalk, is leaving for Candi, who shall make known to His Majesty our good intentions, and treat with His Majesty more fully regarding the settlement of the differences that have arisen, the conditions of which have been already prescribed to him, which Your Majesty will doubtless accept.

Afterwards we shall dispatch a regular ambassador to confirm the mutual resolution and ratify it with an oath. Let His Majesty be pleased to give credit to the said commissioner.

On September 7 a letter[191] from Rája Siṉha, dated August 29, reached Maatzuyker, who replied[192] on September 10 as follows :—

His Majesty's letter of 29th August we duly received on the 7th instant, and our envoy left for Baticalo on the 23rd instant,[193] hoping that he will have speedily appeared before His Majesty.

With regard to the fact that His Majesty has been asked by the Portuguese for peace,[194] and that he is desirous of hearing our opinion thereupon, His Majesty will be pleased to act therein as may seem good to him, and in such a manner as he thinks to be for the advancement of his kingdom, but our resolve is to maintain the contract made with Mr. Westerwolt, provided that His Majesty do so likewise.

The reason why the Portuguese thus seek for peace is that they fear ere long to come to war with us in consequence of their treachery in Brazyl ;[195] they think to shelter themselves under the shade of peace with His Majesty, but will be deceived, because the contract cannot prevent our doing them harm according to our power, with this difference, that the war, which was before this carried on against them in the name of His Majesty, will then be carried on in the name of my Lords the States-General, and that consequently whatever we happen to capture from them will be not for His Majesty, but on our own account, so that on the conquest of Columbo Your Majesty will have no claim to make in connection therewith.

Let His Majesty be pleased to reconsider this, and at the same time how little trust is to be put in a nation which during the peace attempted a shameful piece of treachery in Brazyl.

On the arrival of the ships from Batavia[196] we shall inform His Majesty of the new tidings.

In November some presents were sent to the King,[197] but in the same month Maatzuyker wrote to the Council at Batavia that no lasting peace was to be expected with Rája Sinha, notwithstanding all his professions.[198] A short letter of Maatzuyker's to the King, dated March 25, 1648, elicited no reply, and on September 10 the Dutch Governor wrote to His Majesty, that, after waiting in vain for eleven months for tidings of Maarschalk, he now learnt that the King had entered into an alliance with the Portuguese, and requesting if this were true that the Dutch commissary be sent back. On October 27, however, Maatzuyker wrote to the King, expressing his pleasure at learning that the above report was false, and that His Majesty was about to send back Maarschalk and the other Dutch prisoners, and to reply to the various letters sent to him. Maatzuyker also stated that another ambassador would be sent in place of Maarschalk.[199] The Governor's rejoicing, however, seems to have been somewhat premature, for on March 30, 1649, we find him writing from Negombo[200] to Rája Sinha : "A horse has arrived at Gale, worthy to be ridden by a king. His Majesty's order is requested that it may be sent up. Some trifles and fruits will be sent to His Majesty with it." He added that he had received a letter, dated the 9th current, from the King, in which he learnt with much sorrow of the latter's illness, but he also learnt therefrom that his disáva was doing the Dutch all possible injury and preventing their passage, while all was open to the Portuguese.[201] On April 10 Maatzuyker again wrote from Negombo to the King, complaining of his action in preventing the Dutch from obtaining cinnamon, whilst he permitted the Portuguese to do so.[202] On the same day a letter[203] arrived from Rája Sinha, to which Maatzuyker replied on the 20th,[204] expressing pleasure at the King's recovery, and his surprise at His Majesty's objecting to anything being brought to Negombo, on the ground that this place was fortified and held by the Dutch contrary to his wish. To prove that this was not the fact, Maatzuyker referred the King to his own letter of

February 16, 1645 (given above). He also thanked the King for offers of help, and asked for facilities for gathering cinnamon. He was glad to hear that a horse was acceptable to His Majesty, and the animal would be sent by way of Walawé. In return he asked that a permanent ambassador might be allowed to remain at the royal court.[205]

To another letter[206] from Rája Siṉha, dated April 28, Maatzuyker replied on May 24 to the effect that the King's disáva over the territories of Mátara would be received with all honour, but begging that the person he had already appointed in the King's name might be approved of. He also hoped that the King would mention the continuance of the gathering of cinnamon there and its appropriation by the Dutch towards the liquidation of His Majesty's debt to them. The Persian horse was ready to go as soon as persons arrived to take it, and another ambassador would be sent when the one then in Kandy returned with an assurance of peace.[207] On May 12 the King wrote[208] to Maatzuyker, sending him some presents, for which the Governor sent his thanks from Galle on June 7.[209] He also forwarded the Persian horse and a Dutch saddle, promising, if this pleased His Majesty, to send a better one. He also sent some small gifts, and once more begged the King that the Dutch envoy should be allowed to return.[210]

At last, on July 15, Maarschalk made his appearance accompanied by two native envoys,[211] and bringing the following letter[212] from the King :—

[7.]

[I] Raija Cinga Raiju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ,
send all greeting.

The letter which Your Honour wrote me from my fortress of Gale on the 24th of May was presented at this imperial court on the 7th of June, and the second, written at the same fortress on the 7th of June, arrived on the 20th idem. I was gratified with them because of their saying that you were ready and willing to do me many loyal and faithful services, and with perfect health I shall rejoice if things go on from good to better in accordance with your desire. In the letter which Your Honour wrote me on the 24th of May you said that as soon as the present ambassador with my reply and conditions of peace

should reach that my fortress you would send another without any delay, to thank me obediently and in your name and that of the Governor and Councillors of India swear to the said peace and the conditions thereof. For this reason, leaving aside the things that have happened in times past because of the Dutch nation, in order to turn to the confirming anew of the terms of peace made in Batecalou, with the explanation of some doubts which present themselves regarding certain clauses, I, to-day, Sunday, the 27th of June, dispatch the ambassador of Your Honours, Lourens de Marschalck, who has been in this my imperial court, with two other discreet persons of these my realms, who carry the articles of peace and the conditions thereof, in conformity with what I have here assented to and determined, if Your Honour wishes it so, that you may sign them with the other Councillors who reside in this my fortress of Gale, affixing your seal; and when the ambassador comes here I shall before him sign the said articles and command them to be sealed with my royal seal, and the ambassador who comes to this my imperial court shall swear in the name of the Prince of Orange and of the Company and its directors. Your Honour further said in the aforesaid letter that you had determined to send an ambassador to reside always at this my imperial court, at which I rejoiced greatly, and from that I understood that Your Honours take in good part what those conditions of peace have effected, and when he comes he shall be treated with great honour and love, and if he comes to swear to the conditions of peace and to reside in this my imperial court, I shall dispatch the imprisoned Hollanders with a person of this my court; but, if one comes to swear to the conditions of peace and another to remain, I shall dispatch the said prisoners in the company of him who comes to swear to the conditions of peace. Since I am setting them at liberty it does not seem well, nor is it right, that my *aleas*, which were seized in the Seven Corlas, should be detained.[213] In the letter of Your Honour mention is made of a Portuguese, whom Your Honour calls dissava of Valave, which Portuguese is not dissava of Valave but vidana of Panava, to whom I gave the said *vidania* on account of his being a Portuguese (as Your Honour says) and captured in war, because he had served me well and faithfully.[214] And that Your Honours have served me and do serve me better I bear in my heart, and it is right that I should give many honours and thanks to you. As this is so Your Honour says [* * * *] obediently [* *][215] that I may be pleased to deliver to the same, who is dissava of Mature, the said office, to send him for that purpose my patent, in order from this time forth to do in my royal name all things pertaining to the said office. It appears to me well and it is right that I should reward and recompense those who may serve me; wherefore, if it seem well to you, and you wish it, in the company of the ambassador whom Your Honour is to send, send the said dissava to reside at this my imperial court as do all the other dissavas of my court, and from here he shall govern and perform all the services that

may be ordered him, and when he comes here the patent shall be given to him, and there shall be for the Dutch nation very great honour : and if it seem not well to Your Honour and you do not wish to send him here, I shall send another dissava, a native of these my realms. In times past there resided here a Dutch secretary,[216] who served me with satisfaction, who is dead ; and others are here who serve me, some as soldiers, others in other offices ; and that he should conform to this usage would please me greatly. Your Honour says that the *chaleas* of the Seven Corlas who are with the Portuguese have not yet been given up by them ;[217] very well, I can command them to come, and the Portuguese will not resist me. The profits and rents of this dissava of Mature are in my land register book, what it amounted to anywhere during these past years ; and Your Honours will thus receive cinnamon, as well as areca, pepper, and mines of precious stones, and the customs of the ports and the rents of the lands, iron, elephants, *aleas*, and other things besides. Let Your Honour compare these with the expenses that the Company has incurred in my service, and of that which Your Honours receive send me by the ambassador who is to come a list, and likewise what is still due to the Company.

After we had taken the fortress of Nigumbo the first time, when I was with my army at Galolua,[218] there came a Hollander by the name of Cornelio[219] to go by land and deliver up the fortress of Triquinamale and send away those that were in the said fortress. Therefore in the company of the ambassador who is to come and swear to the conditions of peace let Your Honour send a discreet person to deliver up to me the fortress of Nigumbo in like manner as that of Triquinamale was delivered up.

Having been unwell in times past, on account of an expression which the ambassador used I was displeased with him ; but he has since exonerated himself, saying that he did not use such an expression, but that it was a mistake of the Hollander who acted as interpreter ; on account of this satisfaction which he has made, and as Your Honour wrote and asked me to forgive him the fault, I once again admitted him to my favour ; and having withdrawn that expression no other blame attached to him, but on the contrary, he has behaved up to the present with much satisfaction and honour. And for this reason I sent him on this mission, and shall be pleased if the Company will pay him many honours.[220]

Your Honour said in your last letter that with the horse you were sending a good saddle in the Dutch style, and that if I was pleased with it and let you know you would send me another much better, and also other things. Up to the present it has not reached me ; however, that Your Honour should send to me in such a good spirit rejoices me as much as if it had already been presented to me. Our Lord, &c. From this imperial court and city of Imgaragala[221] on the 27th of June, [1]649.

RAIJASINGA RAIJU, Most Potent ශ්‍රී[222] Emperor of Ceilaõ.

On August 8 Maatzuyker replied[223] to the above letter, informing the King that he had signed the conditions of peace on behalf of the Company, at the same time taking exception to the 10th article, which deprived the Dutch of the monopoly in cinnamon that had been granted to them. With His Majesty's envoys he sent two of the Company's servants,[224] one to swear to the conditions of peace and the other to remain at the court. The King's request for a secretary had been forwarded to Batavia, but if His Majesty preferred to employ one of the Hollanders already at his court he might do so, but for a term of five years only. He thanked the King for acceding to the request that a Hollander should be appointed disáva of Mátara; and begged that when the present incumbent left Lambert Camholt[225] might be appointed. The Dutch envoys would beg His Majesty to allow the Hollanders to retain possession of Negombo until they had taken Colombo from the Portuguese. He had intended to send Camholt as commissary to the king; but, as the former had fallen ill,[226] Burchard Cocx[227] was to go instead with some small gifts.[228] On August 8 the King also wrote to Maatzuyker sending him a ring, a gold chain, and a tusked elephant,[229] for which gifts the Dutch Governor thanked His Majesty in a letter dated September 9, in which he also stated that all that the King asked for should be sent as speedily as possible, and that he was then sending His Majesty a machine for raising heavy weights and also some bars of native steel.[230] On November 16 Rája Sinha again wrote to Maatzuyker; and on December 3 the envoy Cocx returned,[231] bringing the conditions of peace signed by the King and several of the Dutch prisoners. On December 27 Maatzuyker replied, informing the King that Jacob van Kittenstein, who was to succeed him as Governor, had landed that day from Batavia, thanking him for a breast-jewel, and stating that he had not heard from Batavia regarding Negombo and the war with the Portuguese.[232] At the end of this year (1649) Pieter Kieft[233] was sent as commissary to Kandy; and on

February 5, 1650, Maatzuyker, in his last letter to Rája Siṇha, stated that he learnt from Kieft that His Majesty was greatly displeased with the Dutch, saying that they had broken the peace, and (six) several times applying to the nation the opprobrious term *casta hollandeza*, a thing that had never occurred previously, and the reason for which was unknown to him (the Governor), unless it were that His Majesty's disáva Rampot had, as he had threatened to do, incited the King against the Hollanders.[234] At the end of February, 1650, Maatzuyker left Ceylon, leaving for the guidance of his successor, Jacob van Kittenstein, lengthy instructions, in which he recapitulated the events which had occurred since the Dutch obtained a footing in Ceylon, and impressed upon the new Governor the necessity for a firm policy in dealing with the King.[235]

Governor Van Kittenstein wrote on April 1 to the King begging him to appoint a Dutch disáva, thanking him for a quantity of cinnamon which had been loaded on board a Dutch ship at Chilaw, and stating that he was sending to Batticaloa a vessel on which were a Tuticorin bell and a jack-screw (*dommekracht*) for His Majesty, which ship was to bring to Galle the sick prisoners released by the King.[236] On the following day, April 2, Van Kittenstein again addressed a letter to the King, complaining in strong terms of the conduct of the adigár Rampot,[237] who had made an incursion into the territories of Mátara, had driven away the Dutch guards at Kirama and Kaṭuwána, and placed his own guards there, wherefore the Hollanders had under the Governor's orders driven the native troops out of the Mátara territories, which act he trusted would meet with His Majesty's approval, and that he would recall Rampot thence.[238] Rája Siṇha replied in a letter,[239] dated May 3, as follows :—

[8.]

[I] Raija Singa Raiju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ, send to the Governor of my Fortress of Gale much greeting.

The letter which Your Honour wrote me from my fortress of Gale on the 1st of April was presented to me at this my imperial court of

Bintena. I was greatly rejoiced that Your Honour being such a grave and prudent person and of such good understanding had arrived safely at that my fortress of Gale. In Your Honour's letter you refer to the reply to some five letters which Joaõ Masuker wrote me, some of the past year and others of this present. After the late wars which took place in the Seven Corlas the said Joaõ Masuker sent me an ambassador, by name Lourenço Marchal, by whom he begged me for peace with pardon of past errors. On this account I sent my ambassadors to that my fortress of Gale that they might settle the terms of peace to which we swore at Baticalou. And after these had been settled there, there came two ambassadors of the Dutch nation, persons discreet and of authority, who in the name of the Prince of Orange and of the Company swore to them and ratified them in my royal presence in such a proper manner as they were ratified in Baticalou. And after they had been sworn to and ratified I sent my dissava to those my territories of Mature, who coming thither, there took place between him and the late Governor some differences, whence arose the occasion for his said letters not being answered.

In the letter which I have received from Your Honour you beg me to appoint a dissava of the Dutch nation to govern the territories of Mature in my name. When the said ambassadors of the Dutch nation swore to the terms of peace in my royal presence they made the same request of me regarding the said dissava,[240] with which I was much pleased, and gave them for reply that I should immediately order the olla to be sent to him to execute that office; at the same time, however, that he must reside at this my imperial court, in like manner as the rest of my dissavas do while serving me. To this the said ambassadors did not give me any further reply, except that they said that they would take with them a dissava to whom I was to order the said lands to be at once given over. And the said ambassadors having taken my dissava with that promise made (and after he had arrived there they did not give him possession of the territories, the differences which took place having meanwhile arisen), will you now send and ask me to give that dissava to one of the Dutch nation? Does it seem to Your Honour that I shall grant such a request?

In the letters which the Governor Joaõ Masuker wrote to this court he always complained that my dissava was to blame for the said differences; and my dissava in like manner complained, laying all the blame on the Hollanders. Now, in order to know for certain which of the parties is to blame, I send my ambassadors who were there to treat regarding the terms of peace and were present at the swearing of them in my royal presence, and together with them there go some nobles of my court to learn the real truth; and if my dissava was to blame I shall withdraw him from the said office and shall send another in his place, and if blame does not attach to him he shall remain in the same office.

In times past these terms of peace were made in Baticalou, and they were afterwards confirmed in Jacatara. Through the disturbances which occurred in the Seven Corlas arose the disagreements that have taken place on the part of the Dutch nation, upon which Your Honours sent me your ambassadors in order *de novo* to once more swear to the said terms of peace and confirm them in the proper manner in which they were made in Baticalou. In all the letters that the Dutch nation wrote to this imperial court and the officials who brought them they spoke of nothing, but that they wished to abide by the said terms of peace with Adam Vestrevolt. If the Dutch nation wishes to abide by them and give fulfilment to the said terms of peace, I for my part shall be greatly rejoiced. But, if because of the cupidity that you have for the territories of Mathuré you wish to break the terms of peace by means of the Dutch nation and wish for war, I shall be glad to know.

In all the letters that Your Honours have always written to this court you have dwelt therein on the payment of the account of the expenses that the Company has incurred in my service. I have many times asked that you would send me the list of expenses and of what you have received in reduction thereof, both in goods according to our contract and in other things, and also likewise of the money that was spent at the time when the territories were disturbed on account of the Hollanders, and the losses resulting, which the Dutch nation have never chosen to comply with. I now once again ask you to send me the statement of account of the expenses that the Company has incurred in my service, and of what you have received in reduction; and when I see the list, if it agrees with the other that is at this court, and what is due is according to reason, I shall give orders that it be paid without any delay. Our Lord, &c. On the 3rd of May, 1650.

Since this was written there arrived at this court an olla from the dissava of Mathuré, in which he says that the Hollanders had come with force to attack the camp of the said dissava, whence they carried off several lascarins prisoners, and cut off some heads and wounded a number of persons; and in spite of this the said dissava, in doubt lest he had committed some breach of the terms of peace, and because of the fear that he has for this court, did not take up arms against the said Hollanders. On account of this I do not send the nobles who were appointed to go, and I shall await the reply to this letter.

RAIJA SINGA RAIJU, Most ශ්‍රී Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*), *1650* :—Original missive in Portuguese, *dato* 3rd May, written by the King of Candia to the Hon. Mr. Jacob van Kittensteyn; received 20th May of the same.

To the above letter and another which Rája Siṇha seems to have written on May 11, the Dutch Governor replied on July 23 saying that he had already answered that the Hollanders had no greater desire for the Mátara territories than the advantage of the King necessitated, as it was their intention to observe sacredly the contract of Westerwolt. He also added that he had on several occasions heard that the King had dealings with the Portuguese prejudicial to the Dutch; that he could not believe this to be true, but would be glad to have His Majesty's assurance to that effect.[241]

On September 6 Mr. Van Kittenstein received a letter, dated August 25, from the King, to which he replied on September 17 that he understood that His Majesty (who had left Bintẹnna for Badulla) had summoned the disáva Rampot from the Mátara territories, in order to learn from himself the reasons for the difference that had arisen between him and Maatzuyker, not doubting that His Majesty would after a just inquiry into the matter decide that Rampot was in fault.[242] He also informed the King that the war between the Dutch and the Portuguese in Europe had already begun during the past year, and that as soon as the ships with reliefs arrived from Batavia he would give His Majesty fuller particulars of the plans of the Hollanders.[243]

On December 28 Van Kittenstein wrote from Galle to Rája Siṇha, thanking him for the assistance that His Majesty had (as appeared by his letter of August 29) rendered through his disáva to the Dutch during the stay of the ship *De Haan* at the island of Kalpiṭiya, as also for the release of the four persons sent by the commander of that vessel with dispatches to Negombo, and detained by the disáva of the Seven Kóralés. From the letters of the commissary Pieter Kieft the Governor also learnt that His Majesty intended to come to the low country, and to send Kieft in advance to confer with His Excellency on a matter of great importance, and that meanwhile the King would continue to send the Company

yearly a good quantity of cinnamon and elephants. And as His Majesty guarded the Dutch persons in Kandy very strictly, so that they had little freedom, a certain servant of Kieft's, who was already very weary of this, had cunningly run away, but as soon as he had reached Dutch territory he had been made a prisoner, wherefore Van Kittenstein begged the King not to take very amiss this occurrence, which had been caused by the too strict detention, but, on the other hand, to grant the said Kieft and his followers somewhat more liberty, as was done by all princes, and to allow him to write frequently to his fellow-countrymen. The Governor also sent His Majesty as a token of his regard five ells of red scarlet,[244] ten ells of gold and silver lace, two and a half ells of broad silver lace, a hat with a fine plume, a case of Dutch distilled waters, a small cask of Spanish wine, besides some Dutch butter; apologizing that on account of the passing by of the Surat ship he could at that time offer His Majesty nothing else.[245]

On March 4, 1651, the Dutch Governor wrote from Galle to the King, informing him that he had received from Batavia a long-expected present, and begging His Majesty to give orders for its conveyance to his court. From a letter of Van Kittenstein's, dated from Galle on April 15, it appears that the present in question was dispatched to Kandy in charge of Lieutenant Frans Has.[246] It consisted of a fine gold chain; a saddle covered with silver gilt, handsomely embroidered, and provided with all its accessories; a bridle, also of silver gilt, consisting of a head-, breast-, and hind-piece; a quiver embroidered with silver and gold; a bow-case similarly ornamented; fifteen gilt arrows and two bow-strings. The Dutch Governor in forwarding these gifts begged His Majesty to be pleased to send down Jurriaan Bloem,[247] who was in Kandy, in order to utilize his services according to His Majesty's desire, in writing the letters to His Majesty in Portuguese.[248] This request the King (who meanwhile wrote to Van Kittenstein on July 23 and August 5) complied with, the Governor thanking him

therefor on September 16.[249] In addition to the two letters just mentioned (the contents of which do not appear) Rája Sin̥ha wrote to Van Kittenstein on August 10 the following letter :—[250]

[9.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ, send much greeting to Jacob van Kuittentiim, Governor of my Fortress of Galle.

On Monday, the 7th of August, news reached this court[251] that the tusked elephant which I sent as a present to Your Honour had fallen sick by the way, and because of its falling ill and the chance of its dying, from the love that I bear to Your Honour and the Dutch nation I send you another one, pretty big, which goes along with this letter. And if both the elephants arrive safely at that my fortress I shall be much pleased if Your Honour will receive both ; and if perchance the said elephant happen to die, let Your Honour accept of this one. On Tuesday the 8th of August I received notice that a soldier who came with the Ensign Frc°. Aaas[252] had died on the road, at which I was greatly grieved ; but, as death and life are things that come from God, it is right to conform to his will. The bearer will deliver the schedule of this elephant to Your Honour. Our Lord, &c. On Thursday, the 10th of August, 1651.

Raja Singa Raju, Most ශ්‍රී Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—Original letter in Portuguese written by the King of Candia, *dato* 10th August, 1651, to H. E. the Governor van Kittensteyn, with the schedule of the elephant.

On November 15 Van Kittenstein wrote from Galle, politely rebuking the King for arrogating to himself the name of "God,"[253] by which His Majesty wished to be addressed by the Dutch, and saying that he was not surprised that the Portuguese, equally with the ambassadors of the Prince of Bengal,[254] should give agreeable and flattering titles of honour to the King, since necessity compelled them thereto, to which the Dutch commissary Pieter Kieft, without the knowledge of His Excellency, had with good reason been unwilling to consent, nor had he found well to make any change in this matter.[255]

Pieter Kieft appears to have left the royal court before this, for on January 10, 1652, Rája Sin̥ha wrote :—[256]

[10.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ, send to the Commissary Pedro Kuieft much greeting.

The letter[257] that my Governor of my fortress of Gale wrote me reached this imperial court of Bintena on the 19th of December. I esteemed it as much as if you had come in your own person to present it. Until the bad months that are now on, when travelling cannot be done, are past, I am going to stay and recruit at this my country seat of Bintena ;[258] but when they have ended, by the favour and help of God, I intend to leave at once for my city of Badula, in order to make from there the journey that I had planned ; and, if in the meanwhile you have not yet arrived there, I shall then reply to the letter which I have received from my Governor of my fortress of Gale.

I have been informed that a Dutch captain from that my fortress of Gale with another captain of the same nation from the fortress of Nigumbo, which stands without my orders, went to the city of Columbo to treat with the Portuguese.[259] If in the aforesaid manner there was between them and the said Portuguese any agreement, my Hollanders ought to have ere this advised me of everything ; but as these things have come to my royal notice, for this reason I address these lines to you, in order that you may advise me briefly of all that has in truth passed, by the same bearer who takes this.

I would remind you that you should always bear in mind the negotiations and other matters of which you took charge from this court, in order that they may not be forgotten. Nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this court and city of Bintena on the 10th of January, 1652.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most ஸ்ரீ Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Address :—Raja Singa Raju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ, &c.

To the Commissary Pedro Kuieft, in my fortress of Gale, &c.

Indorsements (in Dutch) :—Received 26th January, 1652. Original missive from His Royal Majesty of Candia to the Commissary Kieft, written 10th Jannary, 1652.

On February 6, 1652, Governor Van Kittenstein wrote from Galle to the King, informing him of the departure for Batavia of Kieft (whose agreement had expired), and stating that the latter would make known to Their Honours by word of mouth His Majesty's good feeling towards the Dutch.[260]

On May 15 there were forwarded to the King a number of articles that had been sent from Batavia to please him, namely, a surgeon's medicine chest, with various curious instruments and costly medicines, as also two large curious hats and a bagpipe.[261]

On August 6 Rája Sinha wrote[262] from Badulla to Governor Van Kittenstein, acknowledging the arrival of the presents, which he had not yet deigned to look at, and continuing thus: "I brought up a hawk with great love and tenderness, and taking him with me one day to the chase I gave him wings, and he disappeared for ever. I think it reasonable that I should write to you about these things that are to my taste, and when you are informed of them you are bound to give effect to my wishes. If it should be, therefore, in your power to procure for me some good hawks, as well as other birds of prey that hunt well, and other matters pertaining to the chase, please to send them as presents to me."[263]

On September 27 Van Kittenstein wrote to inform the King of the death of Kieft, begging His Majesty to send to him the goods left in Kandy by the deceased commissary. From the Dutch Governor's letter it also appears that the Portuguese envoy Dom Jeronymo de Azevedo[264] had written to His Majesty, who had replied, and had then sent the correspondence to Van Kittenstein. The latter thought it very strange that the Portuguese General should have permitted the envoy to write to His Majesty on affairs of State, and trusted that it had occurred through sheer pride and arrogance. From the same letter it also appears that it greatly displeased Rája Sinha that the Portuguese General should continue to style himself "King of Malvána,"[265] although he had no right thereto. His Excellency also thanked the King for the favour that he displayed towards the Dutch, assuring him that all their efforts were directed towards maintaining the contract made with Westerwolt, stipulating that His Majesty should endeavour to defray the expenses of the Dutch with the commodities produced in his country.[266]

On September 19 Rája Siṇha sent to Governor Van Kittenstein a number of presents, as enumerated in the following list :—[267]

[11.]

List of the Presents which His Majesty the Most High and Potent Emperor, God our Lord, makes to his Governor of his Imperial Fortress of Gale, Mr. Jacob van Kuitenstein.

An enamelled pelican of gold with a large emerald in the centre and two smaller ones on the wings, with another medium-sized one between the feet, and another smaller one on the head, and in the eyes two rubies, suspended by a pearl and a gold chain, all of which is of the weight of 31 *calanjas* and 18 *mangerins*.[268]

A gold ring with a large diamond in the middle and with four rubies round it, which weighs 5 *calanjas* and 13 *mangerins*.

Two *aleás*, one of which has a height of 5 cubits and the other 5 cubits and a quarter.

We have had an order and been commanded by His Majesty the Most High Monarch, Emperor, God our Lord, that of the cinnamon which is made in the territories of Maturé Your Honour may take twenty *bares* for your own consumption without entering them in the books of accounts ; and in accordance with this imperial order let Your Honour take them for the consumption of your table.

There also goes a gold ring with a large ruby in the centre and round it eight smaller ones, which His Majesty the Most High and Magnific Emperor, God our Lord, makes to the secretary[269] of his imperial fortress of Gale.

Together with this list goes the copy of a letter which the Rector Bertholameu Bergonçio[270] presented to this imperial court, &c.

From this imperial city of Badula, on the 19th of September, 1652.

From the officers of this imperial storehouse.[271]

Indorsement (*in Dutch*) :—Portuguese list of certain goods sent by the King of Candia to Governor Kittensteyn, *dato* 19th 7/ber, 1652.

On October 26 Mr. Van Kittenstein wrote to Rája Siṇha that he had safely received His Majesty's letter of September 5,[272] from Badule, with the handsome present ; and that the copy of the letter[273] which His Majesty had received from Goa, from his brother Prince Visiapalle,[274] and had forwarded to His Excellency, had also reached the latter, regarding

which strange thoughts were to be felt, as to what the Portuguese might have in view thereanent. Governor Van Kittenstein also informed the King that the Dutch had already resumed warlike operations against the Portuguese in Ceylon, and taken possession of all the territories as far as Caliture, which fortress the enemy had already abandoned to the power of the Hollanders.[275] Thus, he added, the time had evidently now arrived for the Dutch to render His Majesty more faithful services, and to avenge themselves for the treachery displayed towards their Government in Brazil;[276] begging further, that His Majesty would be pleased to carry out his design of sending a considerable force to Jaffanapatnam, Man-Aar, and Saffragam, not doubting that this had also been carried out. And as he had understood that the General of Colombo had sent an envoy to his Majesty,[277] he begged His Majesty to give him no belief, nor even any audience, but to be ever mindful of the faithful services of the Dutch.[278]

From a letter written by the Dutch Governor on November 9 to the King it appears that the latter was inclined to join the Dutch in their conflict with the Portuguese, and to send out his troops against them as far as Macucaravare [*sic* for Manicaravare].[279]

On December 23 Van Kittenstein wrote to Rája Sinha that it seemed as if the Portuguese intended to bring His Majesty's brother Prince Visiapalle from Goa to Ceylon,[280] to prevent which His Excellency advised His Majesty, as far as was practicable, to occupy the seaports of Man-Aar, Calpentyn, and Jaffanapatnam, whilst the Dutch would attempt to do the same before Colombo, where they had already with their cruisers taken one of the Portuguese frigates.[281] And since His Majesty was inclined to come down with his army before Colombo, His Excellency highly appreciated this intention, but nevertheless advised the King not to come so near, as that city was not to be captured without bloodshed.[282]

On January 15, 1653, Rája Sinha wrote the following letter[283] to the commander[284] of the Dutch garrison at Kalutara :—

[12.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ, to the Captain-Major of the nation of my Hollanders, who is stationed in the camp of Caliture, send much greeting.

Yesterday, which was Tuesday, the 14th of January, at eight o'clock at night, it was brought to my royal notice that the Portuguese had crossed the river of Caliture, and had advanced to attack the camps of my Hollanders who were in the fortification of Anguruvattota, where, with great falsehoods and lies, with false statements they spread the report that they bore my royal order to assault and capture the fortification in which they were ; and with the same aforesaid falsehoods they caused the removal of the men of arms who were with my Hollanders : at which news I was greatly distressed. And from seeing that my Hollanders on hearing only my royal name mentioned (although with such great artifices and lies by such great enemies) held it in such respect and veneration that they allowed themselves to be surrendered, I understood the great love and loyalty which they have towards me, and at that I rejoiced greatly. But with the help and favour of God, when I leave for my lowland territories, which will be on the 23rd of this present month, I shall take double vengeance for the falsehood which they concocted and for the malicious treason which these traitors carried out in taking into their pestiferous and stinking mouths my royal name. And until I leave for my lowland territories do you keep the camp in which you are stationed well secure and with good watches until my royal coming. I am not more lengthy in this [letter] because the nobles of this my imperial court are writing to you fully in an ola which goes along with this. I do not think there is anything else to say, but must wait, hoping in God that you will be able to send me good news of your welfare and of this camp of my Hollanders, and in the reply to this will you let me know the title which you should bear when you are written to from this imperial court. Our Lord, &c. From this court and city of Badule on the 15th of January, 1653, on Wednesday, at 8 o'clock at night.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, ශ්‍රී Most Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—Original letter in Portuguese written by the King of Candia, *dato* 15th January a°. 1653, to the Captain of Caliture.

Regarding the event which had evoked this regal outburst Valentyn[285] says : "Meanwhile the Portuguese captured from us, on January 8, 1653, the post of Anguratotté ;[286]

and although Raja Singa drove the Portuguese back from around Cottegore, and made them retreat to Colombo,[287] it is nevertheless certain that this would not have befallen us if the Dessave of Saffragam had not warned us too late (as also happened through the Emperor himself); and although the loss of that *pagar* was communicated by us to His Majesty himself, Mr. Van Kittenstein did not however fail to thank His Majesty heartily, in writing from Gale on January 15, 1653, for the faithful warning (though of no use to us). He added that the Portuguese gave out that they were in alliance with the King, and that they received provisions from His Majesty from the territories of Saffragam, and that they also intended together to attack us unawares, which, His Excellency thought, also had some show of truth in it."

Valentyn[288] adds: "His Excellency having meanwhile learnt that a rumour was current of the Viceroy's coming from Goa with the Prince Visiapalle to these territories, with a strong reinforcement of troops, he informed His Majesty on 3rd March that he had received His Majesty's letter of 21st February, and that he had thereupon already proceeded towards Colombo, in order to prevent their entrance there,[289] as also that to this end he had sent eight of our ships along the Malabar coast to meet them in order to sink and destroy them on the way; excusing himself further from first capturing Colombo, as it had during recent years been strongly fortified, and a greater force than he now had was required for that purpose. He was also very glad that His Majesty was desirous of releasing our captives from Colombo, for which purpose we had in our hands several *paters* and others."

Valentyn[290] also says: "Meanwhile the troops of His Majesty and also our people had had a successful encounter near Man-Aar, with no loss on our side, regarding which Mr. Adriaan van der Meyden, who succeeded Mr. van Kittensteyn, after a rule of three years as Governor of Ceylon,[291] wrote to His Majesty this month in a letter from Caleture, expressing

his satisfaction at the victory won by his Dessave in the 7 Corles over the Portuguese,[292] at the same time thanking His Majesty for his present." [293]

On March 18 and April 22 Van Kittenstein wrote to Rája Siṉha that he had learnt with astonishment that the King had been informed that he intended to leave the Island without apprising His Majesty of the fact, which His Excellency had never had in his thoughts, as he now by his letters proved the contrary. The Governor also said that the Dutch continued of the same mind regarding their promised word with respect to the fortress of Nigumbo, and that the King had no need to doubt on that point. His Excellency advised His Majesty not to build a fortlet at Reygamwatté for the investment of Colombo, and set forth all the difficulties of besieging that city. He thanked Rája Siṉha for his present, and also informed the King that the Ragimade Teuwer,[294] Lord of Rammenacoil, had through his ambassadors made known to the Dutch that he suffered intolerable affronts from time to time at the hands of the Portuguese, and was desirous of giving the Hollanders a helping hand against their enemies with boats and men to help to capture Man-Aar and Jaffanapatnam. He had, Van Kittenstein added, received three tame tigers sent by Rája Siṉha, and he wished that His Majesty could thus tame the proud and haughty nature of the Portuguese.[295]

On May 12 Mr. Van Kittenstein sent back the King's envoys, accompanied, at Rája Siṉha's desire, by a body-guard for His Majesty consisting of an ensign, a sergeant, a corporal of the cadets, two corporals, a drummer, and four-and-twenty soldiers, whom he begged the king to treat well, adding that he would write to Batavia for a higher officer and for a skilled surgeon, which last, together with a common Dutch saddle, was sent to His Majesty with a letter of July 19.[296]

On August 15 Van Kittenstein received a letter from the King, to which he replied on September 2 begging His Majesty to take in good part his displeasure regarding

Colombo. His Excellency also protested that the Dutch had never had in their minds to appropriate to themselves a foot of land belonging to the King's crown, much less Colombo after its conquest, but that we should prove the contrary by adding it to His Majesty's crown. He had written to Batavia for His Majesty's account which he had asked for several times, in which he would see that all the expenses, besides the receipts on the other side, would be plainly set down (except the fitting out of the fleets, which had yet to be ascertained). Rája Siṇha also sought the advice of the Dutch Governor, because the Portuguese were very desirous of coming to Candi to deliver the letters from their King and from the Viceroy of Goa;[297] but His Excellency was of opinion that those letters were simply invented in order to hoodwink His Majesty, and that they must on that account be declined.[298]

While this interchange of letters between the King and the Dutch Governor had been going on, however, there had been an insurrection among the Portuguese in and around Colombo, who had imprisoned the Captain-General Manoel Mascarenhas Homem and his son-in-law Lopo Barriga, the Field Captain-Major, on account of their misdeeds;[299] and on the matter being reported to Goa, the Viceroy had sent Francisco de Mello de Castro as Captain-General and Dom Alvaro de Ataide as Field Captain-Major. These had arrived at Colombo with reinforcements in twelve vessels on May 10, 1653, two days after the Dutch cruisers had been forced by the monsoon to leave that place for Galle, much to their chagrin.[300] A large force was now expected daily from Batavia, and the Dutch Governor promised Rája Siṇha that he would then be ready to appear with the camp of the Hollanders before the gates of Colombo.[301]

On October 25 Mr. Adriaan van der Meyden wrote from Galle to the King to inform him that Mr. Van Kittenstein had left for Batavia,[302] and that he had been appointed to succeed him as Governor; therefore he begged His Majesty to recognize him as such. He added that the Dutch had

captured three English and one Portuguese ships in the Gulf of Persia.[303] A letter of October 13 from the king to Mr. Van Kittenstein was also acknowledged.[304]

On November 17 Van der Meyden wrote from Caliture that he had received the King's letter of the 2nd idem from his encampment at Ancarravanelle,[305] and His Excellency now informed His Majesty that the Portuguese, who during the previous month had pitched their camp in Gourbeville, Canasture, Attapotti, and Cotagodde,[306] and also sometimes in Alauwa, had now retired from the uplands back to Malvane, and that they had there mustered twenty-four *instantias*,[307] or companies of white troops, who, in order to obtain provisions, were pillaging in the Seven and Four Corles;[308] but he promised with His Majesty's dessaves to make a good firm resistance and assist him faithfully. His Excellency also knew well that now and then great hope was given to His Majesty as to the capture of Colombo, but this all depended upon the great reinforcement from Holland and from Batavia, which could not be long in coming now. He also informed the King that the Commissary Mr. Ryklof van Goens had gone with four ships from Caliture to Suratte,[309] and that the bay of Colombo was once more blockaded by three Dutch ships.[310] His Excellency was also pleased to hear that the Dutch soldiers who were with the King gave good satisfaction.[311]

The Dutch Governor's polite epistles, however, did not tend to restrain Rája Siṉha's impatience, and Van der Meyden himself records[312] that "Raja Singa having noticed that the Portuguese in Colombo were in September A°. 1653 once more supplied with *mantimentos* [provisions] from Toetocoryn, and that by the first four ships (in which the late Governor Mr. Jacob van Kittensteyn was allowed to take his departure) we had not received a single soldier for the relief of those who had been so long asking for it, nor likewise did they obtain it at the end of October, per the Commissary Mr. Ryklof van Goens, with four other ships destined for Persia and Suratte, His Majesty betook himself, with his

mostly starved troops which he had brought down,[313] from the vicinity of the Portuguese pickets, from Carvanello, as elsewhere, in November, through the Four and Seven Corlas, back to Candi to rest."

During the latter part of 1653 and the early part of 1654 numerous engagements took place between the Portuguese and the Sinhalese and the Portuguese and the Dutch, the advantage being, for the most part, with the first-named.[314] One of the results was that the Dutch vacated Kalutara, and the Portuguese once more occupied that fort. An engagement at sea off the west coast of Ceylon between five Portuguese galleons and the three Dutch cruisers was indecisive, each side retiring after considerable loss. Ryklof van Goens, however, in his return voyage from Persia and Surat on May 1, 1654, met with the five galleons and forty frigates off Cabo da Rama, and after a severe engagement came off victorious, being enabled to release twenty of the Dutch taken prisoners at Anguruwátara, who were on board one of the galleons.[315] This welcome news was communicated to Rája Sinha through Lieutenant Frans Has by a letter from Governor Van der Meyden dated June 6.[316]

The Dutch were now receiving constant accessions of supplies and troops by sea; and several engagements took place between them and the Portuguese to the south of Colombo, the most important being at Tebuwana and Kaluwamódara.[317]

On November 27 Governor Van der Meyden sent a letter to Rája Sinha by the merchant Ysbrand Godsken, besides several fine horses and other pretty rarities to the prince his son,[318] as well as various intercepted letters from the Portuguese for His Majesty's diversion.[319]

To this letter the King replied on March 8, 1655, by Godsken, who returned with His Majesty's ambassadors. Upon this Mr. Van der Meyden on March 27 informed Rája Sinha that the Portuguese were being strengthened by faithless subjects of His Majesty's in the Seven and Four Corles, which had made the enemy so bold that they had

even dared to come and make a disturbance within the Candian gravets,[320] which His Majesty must check as much as possible, and beware of their ambushes. His Excellency now expected the great reinforcement from Batavia every hour.[321]

On May 19 the Dutch Governor informed the King that Major Van der Laan had bombarded the fortress of Caliture fiercely, but that the enemy had greatly strengthened it, and had reinforced it from Colombo with four *instantias* (or companies);[322] also that a report was current that Gaspar Figueira had fallen upon His Majesty's Dessaves unawares in Caticapale,[323] but that the King had shortly afterwards defeated three or four *instantias*,[324] regarding which His Excellency awaited further tidings and certainty ; and as several Portuguese frigates had made their appearance near the bay of Galle, His Excellency had fitted out two yachts to follow them to Colombo, Jaffanapatnam, Man-Aar, Pambanan, or wherever they went.[325]

On July 9th Governor Van der Meyden informed the King of the victory gained by the Dutch in a fight off Galle with the Portuguese reinforcements, and how His Majesty's ambassadors themselves had witnessed it; that the Hollanders had chased a frigate off the coast of Gundera[326] towards the shore, two ditto captured and brought into Galle bay by the yacht the *Leeuw*, and had forced their General of Colombo, Antoni de Sousa Coutinho, to keep out and go round with his eight other frigates, whereby the Portuguese were severely shaken out of their self-confidence, the Dutch having besides taken many Portuguese and blacks prisoners ;[327] though, according to the latest intelligence, the enemy in Colombo were still twelve or fifteen *instantias* strong ; but as soon as the great Dutch reinforcement, which was now at hand, should have landed, His Excellency did not doubt that, supported by His Majesty, they would be in a position to clear the Island of them entirely, and to place all the captured towns in His Majesty's hands.

To which summary of the Dutch Governor's letter Valentyn appends the laconic remark : " Great promises, but

from which, however, not much was to be expected, so long as our heavy war expenses were not settled, about which His Majesty seemed to think little." [328]

On August 16 Rája Sinha, who, since his defeat at the hands of Gaspar Figueira had been sulking in his palace in Kandy, wrote the following letter[329] to Governor Van der Meyden :—

[13.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch and Most Potent Emperor of this my far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to the Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, Adrienen [*sic*] Vander Meiden, send much greeting.

It came to my imperial notice that the General of the Portuguese who was coming to Columbo, having escaped from the encounter that he had with my Hollanders, had arrived at Japhanapataõ ; but I did not receive this news as true, and wishing to know the certainty of it they told me how the said General came to Manar, and that on the 8th of August he left the said place and arrived at Calpety,[330] whence he wrote these letters, which he sent to Columbo and which my dissava of the Seven Corlas seized in a village called Corlavela[331] belonging to the territories of Anna Volundana,[332] and at once sent them to be presented at this imperial court with the bearers who carried them, and they arrived on Saturday, the 14th of this present month ; and to-day, Sunday, they were presented to me ; and as it seems right to me that on this occasion the Governor of my imperial fortress of Galle should know these things, I therefore send you the said letters that you may see them. Amongst them goes a copy of one which they have determined to write to this imperial court ; on this occasion I say nothing thereanent. The said letters go along with this. Let Your Honour look at them and keep them in your possession until occasion offer and my imperial person shall send to ask for them. Your Honour will then deliver them up with goodwill and much joy.

On account of the unlucky journey that my imperial person made in times past,[333] and likewise because at this present time the festivals of my God are being celebrated, for the aforesaid reasons I have not yet dispatched the rutilant [334] Frco. Haas ; but in a few days from now, by the favour and help of God, I shall give him leave to go to that my imperial fortress, and he will go well content ;[335] and he will at the same time take the return (as Your Honour is deserving of it) of the presents which at various times you have sent to be presented to this imperial court, and I shall also reply to the letters of Your Honour. In order to make sure that this reaches the hands

of Your Honour with all dispatch, for this reason this is not longer. Our Lord, &c. From this imperial court and city of Candia on the 16th of August, 1655.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ஐ Emperor of Ceilaõ.

A few weeks after the above letter was written General Geraard Hulft arrived[336] at Galle from Batavia with a fleet of some twenty ships carrying a large body of troops and war materials. Kalutara was soon afterwards besieged, and capitulated on October 15.[337] Information of this victory was immediately communicated to Rája Siṇha.[338] The Dutch troops then marched on Colombo, defeating the Portuguese forces sent to oppose them,[339] and on October 19 or 20 they arrived before the city. Simultaneously there appeared from the royal court and from the Dissave of Saffragam three *apahamis*, three *haraties* (árachchis), and a body of *lascaryns*, bringing with them a letter from the Dutch Resident in Candy, Joris Hervendonk,[340] stating that His Majesty had given command to make known to His Excellency his protracted and continued fever, but that he hoped to arrive in Colombo shortly with his nobles. Whereupon on the 20th a note was dispatched to the King with the intelligence of the Dutch victory over their enemies.[341]

On October 21 the siege of Colombo was begun,[342] and on the 22nd the Dissave of Saffragam appeared, on behalf of the King, with offers of help. Two days later, "towards evening, His Excellency received through the king's letter carriers a very elegant missive sprinkled with odoriferous spicery, and besides his signature there was portrayed on each side a female figure with folded hands looking upwards,[343] this being in answer to the foregoing, written by Governor Adriaan van der Meyden from Bentotte.[344] It was understood that the King was somewhat displeased that the letter sent to him by the Governor was not (which happened through hastiness) as usual wrapped in white linen, and that his titles were not written out in full. There was, however, very great joy in the court at the arrival of the Dutch fleet.

His Majesty had also asserted that the city (when taken) was, in accordance with the promise of the late Governor, Mr. Jakob van Kittensteyn, and later letters of the present one, Mr. Adriaan van der Meyden, to be delivered into his hands, upon which (so he said) he set little value if only the honour of the capture were ascribed to him, whereby the Honourable Company might expect various benefits. At the end of the letter it was stated that His Majesty had given orders everywhere to make ready the houses and roads, in order that he might come down." [345]

On November 4, says Baldæus,[346] there came the ambassador Tenecon Apuhamy,[347] with a letter from His Majesty, together with a golden breast-jewel adorned with various precious stones, hanging by a chain, which letter being translated read thus :—

Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch and Most Potent Emperor of this my Empire of Ceylon, wishes much health to Gerard Hulft, Director-General of the Naval Squadron of the upright, faithful Netherlands nation.

I learnt by letters from the Governor of my imperial fortress of Gale that Your Honour had arrived with your present squadron, and had shortly afterwards captured the fortress of Caleture, and had sent on board the one-half of those therein (being Portuguese prisoners), and had kept the other half there in custody for my imperial service. And that Your Honour on the road between Caleture and Columbo, after a sharp fight, had put the enemy to flight, without any loss to my faithful Hollanders, which new tidings caused my Imperial Majesty great joy ; I also at once sent out my imperial command to all my dissaves and captains of war, that the whole of my army should be brought together as speedily as possible. Meanwhile I received an ola from my Saffragam dissave, which he had written to me on 23rd October, wherein he reported that Your Honour had summoned him, and had asked him in the first place how it fared with the health of my Imperial Majesty, and that Your Honour had said that you had come with no other intention than to deliver over to me the towns of Columbo, Manaar, and Jafnapatan, and that when that was done Your Honour would appear before my Imperial Majesty. For some days past I had been very ill, but nevertheless I had given orders in all that concerns my imperial army ; but, as soon as I received tidings of Your Honour, I was filled with such extreme joy that by that means with God's help I have been quite cured, so

that I am twice as strong as before to carry out and fulfil my imperial expedition, which (with God's help) shall take place on Tuesday, 2nd November. Herewith I send Your Honour an officer of my imperial court to inquire regarding Your Honour's health; he will convey to Your Honour a certain decoration, which my imperial person sends to Your Honour. Your Honour will please not to consider the value of it, but the love and the goodwill with which, &c.

In the imperial court in the town of Candy, 29th October, 1655.

(Signed) RAJA SINGA RAJON,[348] Most Potent Emperor of Ceylon.

On November 12 took place the unsuccessful general assault by land and sea on Colombo,[349] in which the Dutch lost so many in killed and wounded, and "on this unlucky day in the afternoon," says Baldæus,[350] "the General received a letter from the Imperial Majesty in which, as usual, was set forth the full trust that he had in His Honour, to give over into his hands the city of Colombo after its capture, and the fulfilment of the treaty formerly made with Mr. Westerwold; that all runaway natives should be handed over to his present dessaves, whether dead or alive, in order to be punished, as was the case at Batecalo; that he had commanded his dessaves to waste and to burn all the villages and the lowlands as far as was possible." With this letter was forwarded a note that had been sent to the King by the Portuguese General of Colombo, Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, on October 27, in which he endeavoured to persuade Rája Sinha to break off his friendship with the Hollanders and assist the Portuguese to expel them from Ceylon.

On November 13 a letter was dispatched to Rája Sinha, to inform him doubtless of the ill-success of the attack on Colombo; and on the 19th the King's disávas came to Hulft to show him a letter they had received from their royal master, "in which he expressed great regret regarding the wound received by His Honour in the recent assault, and said that it thereby became necessary to work night and day in order to get ready as soon as possible all that was needful for his march and descent to the camp to our help, and

that His Majesty begged that no second assault should be commenced before and until His Majesty had assisted His Honour with his counsel and army." "Whereupon," adds Baldæus,[351] "a note with all politeness and thankfulness was sent to Raja Singa."[352]

On December 10 Antonio do Amaral de Menezes, the Governor of Jaffnapatam, was captured at Mutwal while attempting to get to Colombo, and a number of letters found on him were, after having been read and doubtless copied, sent to Rája Sinha.[353]

On December 28 "the General," says Baldæus,[354] "informed the Dissaves of Saffragam and of the Four Corlas that he had resolved to send an envoy to the Emperor in order to learn once for all what was His Majesty's intention towards us, whether he intended to come down or not, and asked them also to write to the Emperor on this subject, as, having proceeded so far, the time did not admit of much further delay in making another assault on the town; and that in case the Emperor should still have any doubts of our good intentions they should (as far as possible) assure His Majesty of our upright intentions."

Accordingly, "on the day following," says Baldæus,[355] "Lieutenant Johannes Hartman, afterwards Captain before Jafnapatan, was dispatched with some letters to the King of Candy, Emperor of Ceylon."[356]

On January 24 or 25, 1656, Lieutenant Hartman returned, bringing the following letter[357] from Rája Sinha to Hulft :—[358]

[14.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Most Potent Emperor of this my far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to Gerardo Hulfut, Director-General over the State of the East Indies, who has come for my imperial service with the fleet of the ships of my Hollanders, and is with the camp in the siege of the city of Columbo, send much greeting.

The letter of Your Honour which the captain of the guard brought to be presented at this imperial court, written on the 29th of December, was presented before my imperial presence in this camp and imperial court of Balané on Tuesday night, which was the 18th

of January. My imperial person heard all that was contained in the said letter, and I was greatly rejoiced that Your Honour enjoyed good health, and from the day that Your Honour came to this my empire of Ceilaõ for my imperial service, immediately in the first letter that was presented to me from Your Honour my imperial person recognized in it the great fidelity, love, goodwill, and perfect truth with which you are serving me; and likewise when the said captain delivered into my imperial hands the letter of Your Honour, and also what you told him verbally, [my] imperial person deemed that Your Honour yourself [* * *][359] in person and [with] your own mouth before my imperial presence; and so I received all as perfect truth into my imperial heart, and I rejoiced to an extent that my imperial person cannot make manifest to you by words in this [letter]. At the time when Your Honour laid siege with the camp of my Hollanders to the city [of Columbo], and attacked by battery the said city, my imperial person was about, without thinking of good or evil hours, to set out with my imperial army, when in the meanwhile news reached this my imperial court that after engaging in the said war they had retired, and remained fortified in our entrenchments; and then the nobles of my imperial court, as soon as they heard of the ill-success that had ensued, gave me counsel, it being a custom and usage in this my Empire of Ceilaõ and of our law, that the following month was not good for my imperial person to make any journey whatsoever; and for this reason I delayed making this journey. To-day, which is Thursday afternoon, I shall give leave to the captain of the guard in order to convey the news to Your Honour that my imperial person leaves the same day at night. At present nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From the camp and imperial court of Balané, on the 20th of January of the year 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most ශ්‍රී Potent Emperor of Ceilaõ, &c.

On February 14 or 15 Hulft received another letter[360] from the King, as follows:—

Raja Singa Rajou.

My imperial person when young in years gained the victory (by God's favour) over his enemies in Malvane, where I defeated the whole camp of Don Constantino,[361] after which I besieged the town of Columbo, being encamped in the garden of Louys Gomes Pinto.[362] Then it pleased God to visit me with sickness; and as soon as the Viceroy[363] received the news thereof he at once came into the camp before Columbo, saying that I should betake myself to my kingdom of Candy; and my person, having heard his royal word, returned with all diligence to Candy, allowing to remain before the city my brother Carnana Singa,[364] King of Ouva, and with him Prince Vigiapala, who

brought great dishonour upon our imperial family ;[365] and both these remaining in the said siege, it happened that the false Portuguese drove a large number of poor people out of the city, among whom there came out also some false traitors, by whom all my works were set on fire ;[366] therefore let Your Honour command a good watch to be kept. I would also remind Your Honour, through the goodwill, love, and affection that I bear to you, that this wicked Portuguese nation are traitors and false, and also that in my camp are many kinds of nationalities, wherefore let Your Honour have a care of your person, and God the Lord will protect Your Honour from all danger and difficulties. If this should be so (as my imperial person wishes), a great and extreme joy will be born for me. Your Honour must know that in this Empire of Ceilaõ are many kinds of people, both of foreigners and of natives, who served many kings and caused many disagreements, and brought severe desolations upon the country. There are also still at the present time many of these traitors ; if it should happen that on the part of these any of them should betake himself to Your Honour with an external show of love, do not trust him. For these false rogues will, for a little gain (through the false heart that is in them), say such things as will grow to great misfortune and ruin. The letters that are written to you from this court are also composed in a foreign language ; therefore, should Your Honour find any inconsistency therein, either in one or another, which might trouble Your Honour, or cause any speculation, would Your Honour at once inform me thereof, in order to remove all doubt and suspicion. For the peace that we formerly made and swore to shall endure so long as the sun and moon shall shine, as Your Honour also says in your letter that it shall be in force as long as the world endures. I had intended to answer Your Honour's letter of the 8th of January,[367] but understanding that the captain of the guard had been dispatched by Your Honour to this imperial court I delayed somewhat in doing so. In former times, when my imperial person was somewhat younger in years, I encamped with my imperial army in Malvane ; and, since it is a long time ago, I inspected that place on Wednesday last, finding the same, where the dissave of the Four Corlas had prepared the court, not to be good, when I immediately commanded that it should be prepared not there but in the fortress of Reygamwatte.[368] In view of this, and because the said dissave had not properly fulfilled his duty and had committed many follies and acts of cowardice, I have deposed him, and put another in his place ; and any things that may happen concerning my imperial service, will Your Honour kindly confer with him regarding them. As regards the preparation of the court I have given commands to the dissaves, and dispatched several persons to prepare it as speedily as possible, and I shall then at once proceed thither.

Subscribed :—In the camp and court at Guiramibula,[369] 14th February, 1656. Raja Singa Rajou, Most Potent Emperor of Ceylon.

On February 20, Baldæus states,[370] Lieutenant Joannes Hartman[371] came back with a letter from Rája Sinha to General Hulft, which ran as follows:—

Raja Singa Rajou, &c.

The letter that Your Honour wrote on the 8th of February to this imperial court reached my hands safely on the following day, the 9th. In it Your Honour says that you are waiting with great eagerness for permission to appear before my royal presence, and at the same time to demonstrate the true friendship and affection with which the Honourable Company strives to persevere to the end in my imperial service,[372] from the day that you landed from your ships in my Empire. I have always thought in my imperial heart that Your Honour would come to speak with my imperial person; and this my wish will God the Lord grant me when Your Honour shall appear before me in the camp at Reygamwatte. Your Honour also said in your letter that the lascaryns of the dissaves had committed some great faults. When my imperial person shall come into the next camp I shall then also send other captains with their men thither, and recall to me those who have hitherto been stationed there, and those who have committed any fault against the King's crown shall, after matters have been heard and considered, be punished, as is customary among the kings and monarchs of the world. Your Honour also stated in the same letter that on the 5th of this month you dispatched nine ships. God the Lord grant Your Honour at all times such an outcome of affairs as I wish from my heart. For my imperial person rejoices in the highest degree when I learn of the welfare and prosperity of the Hollanders, as God the Lord, according to my wish, shall grant them. When my imperial person shall have arrived at the above-said camp, I hope that (with Your Honour's advice and that which I have taken beforehand) the capture of the city will not be long delayed. As regards the evil-doers, they shall receive another name, not for themselves only, but also for their family, whereby they and all their kindred shall endure lasting infamy. With the arrival of Your Honour's person when you shall appear before me, I shall picture to myself that the whole of Holland stands before me, and because, according to our laws, a good day and hour are needful and must be chosen for that, I shall let Your Honour be informed thereof by a person of rank.

When I left Candy the Prince my son,[373] whom God the Lord permitted to be born for the welfare of my upright and true Holland, took leave of me and begged me to tell you these things.[374]

(Signed) RAJA SINGA RAJOU.

In the Camp in Guiramibula,
18th February, 1656.

Baldæus adds that Hartman had been presented with a tame elephant by the King, who had privately hinted to him that a gift from Hulft to the young prince would be acceptable. On February 21 the disávas came for the General's letter, which they were told was not yet ready, and they were consulted as to what present should be sent to the prince. They replied that they did not know, but would consider. In the afternoon they received the letter, and departed with it amid the usual ceremonies.

On the following day Rája Sinha, seeing the great smoke caused by the furious firing of the Portuguese batteries, sent a messenger to the Dutch camp to inquire what was forward; and in the evening two envoys from His Majesty arrived in the camp and informed Hulft that the King had received his letter with much satisfaction; that he was at present at Walewitty;[375] and that as soon as his palace was ready he would send for the General.

A letter written by an ultra-loyal árachchi to the vidána and headmen of the three pattus of Pasdun Kóralé, ordering them to send provisions to the King, led to his arrest and condemnation to be beheaded (which was not, however, carried out), and the letter was sent to His Majesty by Hulft on the last day of February. Three envoys brought to the Dutch General a present of an elk which Rája Sinha had himself hunted and killed that day, and as a return compliment Hulft sent the King some grapes.

On March 14, the King having intimated his desire that a person of standing should be sent to confer with him privately, Ysbrand Godsken[376] was chosen for the mission. A few days later General Hulft received the following letter[377] from His Majesty:—

Raja Singa Rajou, &c.

My imperial person has given orders to send these few lines to Your Honour because the present occasion requires it. Day-before-yesterday, being Wednesday, the 15th of March, I broke up my camp at Guiramibula, and coming by way of Walewitty, on the other side of the river to the place mentioned, I have at once dispatched some

nobles from this imperial court to make known to Your Honour my arrival at the camp of Reygamwatte, and at the same time to inquire after your good health; which nobles I have also charged (seeing that I had not replied to several letters sent by Your Honour to this imperial court) to request Your Honour to send hither a person of authority and standing, that I may give him my verbal reply to the said letters; and as it was night when my imperial person came into the camp of Reygamwatte, I gave orders early in the morning for the army to encamp, when also the letters herewith sent were brought to me, one being from the General and the other from the citizens of Columbo, from which Your Honour will be able to understand what the contents are.

In the court and camp at Reygamwatte, the 17th of March, A°. 1656.

(Signed) Raja Singa Rajou, Most Potent Emperor of Ceylon.

The two letters[378] referred to, one from Antonio de Sousa Coutinho and the other from the leading citizens of Colombo, appealed to Rája Sinha to break off from his new friends the Dutch, and help the Portuguese, the ancient friends of the Sinhalese kings, to drive away their foes,—a vain appeal!

On March 23 Ysbrand Godsken returned, bringing a verbal reply from Rája Sinha to five letters that Hulft had addressed to His Majesty. The chief points in this answer[379] were that the King approved of the cruel treatment by the Dutch of the unfortunate natives whom the Portuguese had driven out of Colombo; that he begged Hulft to be more careful of himself; that he highly appreciated his letters; that he adhered to the Westerwold treaty in face of past disagreements, and asked Hulft to strengthen the friendship; he desired information regarding the intentions of the Dutch as to Jaffnapatam and Mannár, and he would be pleased to grant an interview to Hulft on the following Sunday or Thursday. At the same time the King sent back to Hulft, with his approval, two letters that the General had written in reply to some sent by the Portuguese to His Majesty. These Hulft signed in Rája Sinha's name and sent into the city.

On April 1 the disávas of Uva and the Four Kóralés with a body of one hundred lascarins brought a letter[380] to Hulft from the King, acknowledging one from the General of March 24, and inviting him to come to his camp as soon as possible. Accordingly, on April 5 Hulft set out with an imposing retinue, and was received with every honour by some of the King's chiefs, and lodged in a house prepared for his reception on the south bank of the Kẹlani.[381] Owing, however, to a sudden illness Rája Sinha had to defer his reception; and on the 7th Hulft wrote to the King that if he could not see His Majesty he must beg leave to return to the camp before Colombo. Next day a reply came from the King (written in the night of the 7th), regretting the delay that the General had had to suffer, and telling him to prepare for a reception on that day (the 8th).[382]

A full description of the reception will be found in Baldæus.[383] On the 9th Hulft returned to Colombo, and on the 10th in the evening the General was mortally wounded by a stray Portuguese bullet while he was examining the siege works.[384] A letter was sent the same night to Rája Sinha to apprise him of the death of the General; and the King sent his adigár the Disáva of Mátalé to view the corpse. On the 15th Adriaan van der Meyden, who had succeeded Hulft in the supreme command, received a letter[385] from the King, dated the same day, in which His Majesty expressed his sorrow at the death of Hulft, and requested Van der Meyden, as his successor, to appear before him in order to receive tokens of the royal favour.

On April 19 Governor van der Meyden received from the King a letter,[386] dated the 18th, in which *inter alia* His Majesty referred with satisfaction to the dispersal by the Dutch off Quilon of the Portuguese fleet sent by the Viceroy from Goa for the relief of Colombo,[387] and ventured the opinion that Manoel Mascarenhas Homem, who was then acting at the helm of State in India, had, out of revenge for the treatment he had received in Colombo when Governor,

sent the fleet purposely to be destroyed. He also expressed pleasure at learning that Nicolao de Moura,[388] a Portuguese captain, had come over to the Dutch. The King also desired that the jewels which he had bestowed on Hulft might be sent to the deceased General's relations.[389] Finally, he stated his intention of coming to inspect the siege works as soon as his illness permitted.

On the same day a summons was sent to the Commander of Colombo to surrender, but this was answered by a firm refusal. On the 23rd another letter[390] reached Van der Meyden from Rája Siṇha, in which the royal writer referred in flattering terms to the services of Major Jan van der Laan, expressed his intention of sending a letter to the States-General on the termination of hostilities, testifying to the services of Hulft; referred to his coming to the Dutch camp; and animadverted unfavourably on the answer of the Portuguese to the summons to surrender. In this letter was enclosed one for the Sabandaar of Galle, Don Joan de Costa, which ended with a request for an anvil and bellows, some white paper, and some porcelain.

Shortly afterwards Ysbrand Godsken was again dispatched to confer with His Majesty, apparently respecting an assault on Colombo; for he returned with the message that the King would like it deferred until the last day of the month, when he hoped to be present as an eyewitness. The assault was, however, fixed for the night of the 27th, but, owing to differences in the council of war, postponed.

On May 2 Rája Siṇha sent Van der Meyden a brief letter[391] acknowledging one from the Dutch Governor, and returning unread another written on a half sheet of paper, the sending of which he considered an affront.

On the 4th the king sent another letter,[392] referring to the removal of Joris Hervendonk from the royal service, the substitution of Frans Has,[393] and the subsequent restoration

of the former and discharge of the latter.[394] On May 6 His Majesty wrote the following letter :—[395]

[15.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this my famed Empire of Ceilaõ, &c., to Adriaen Van der Meiden, Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, who is present at the siege of the city of Columbo, send much greeting.

The letter that Your Honour sent to this imperial court, written on Wednesday, the 3rd of May, was delivered on Thursday, the 4th of the said month. It treated of the sorrow that you felt regarding the letter that had been sent back to you. From among all foreign nations my imperial person chose that of my Hollanders for the increase of my imperial fame, estate, and the good of my crown and Empire, and also further for all things that might concern my imperial service, and likewise because of their being a faithful and trusty nation : for these aforesaid reasons I love and esteem them more than my lawful vassals ; and if there be any fault in them my imperial person regrets it much, by reason of the strangers who are in this my Empire and outside of it who may say that, there being other nations, I went and chose that of the Hollanders, who are now acting contrariwise. For these aforesaid reasons, whatever fault, negligence, error, or laxity there may be in them, on account of the pain and sorrow that I shall suffer therefrom, I take the opportunity to reprehend them and to correct them in all things. Wherefore if Your Honours will give fulfilment without any failure to all things touching my imperial state,[396] my imperial person will rejoice greatly ; because my dear and beloved Director-General in the short time that he was in this my Empire was giving fulfilment to them all without any failure ; but as God took him to himself so soon he had no opportunity left of receiving from my imperial hands magnificent and hazardous enterprises which my imperial person was desirous of intrusting to him ; and if the said Director-General allowed the manner and good customs in which I ought to be served, what trouble is it to Your Honours to imitate him ?

Your Honour also referred in yours to the fact of being ready to attack and make an assault upon the city of Columbo, at which my imperial person was much pleased, because of the strength of the enemy's becoming daily weaker and of this being a good opportunity, and moreover because the ships cannot remain longer at that bar, all which I hold for the said reason to be very wise ; but for another cause I regret it on account of my indispositions not giving me the opportunity of being present at that time and seeing that fight, and if there shall be any disorder, either in retiring or in attacking, to be able in my imperial person to hasten to them and give them courage with my imperial army in order that we may take that city of Columbo by

force of arms, for which purpose, with the favour and help of God, by some means or other I must go this coming Sunday further towards that my camp ; and if in the meantime it appear well to Your Honour and meet with your approval as right that you can await my imperial arrival, you may do so ; but if nevertheless you meet with a good opportunity of being able to attack the said city with safety and without risk of our honour and fame, it will be very well done, for I am confident in God that we shall obtain a good victory over those our enemies.

Your Honour also says in the last clause of your [letter] that they of the city of Columbo released eight prisoners of my Hollanders, who had escaped of the seventy-four, which were in exchange for eight Portuguese who were captured in Caliture,[397] and that to one or two had been given certain instructions. I was very glad that Your Honour informed me of the above, in order that no occasion might be given to any outsiders to say that my Hollanders were treating without my imperial leave on certain matters with my enemies. At the same time I shall be glad to know what was done with the rest of the Hollanders who were left: if they died from their neglecting to give them food, or from the little care that they took of them in their sufferings ; and likewise what instructions they were that Your Honour gave to the two Portuguese whom together with the others you sent back into the said city. As regards the latter, if there should be anything secret, in whatever way shall suit you best Your Honour can send advice to this imperial court as seems well to you.

After the death of my Director-General I ordered that no salute should be beaten in this my camp ; but as I am about to march further forward nearer to the enemy, it is proper that they should continue beating all the instruments by the way, and when my imperial person arrives there it will be necessary to give the customary salutes ; for this reason I make this announcement to Your Honour. At present nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this great camp and court of Raganvata, on the 6th of May, in the year 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ශ Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (in Dutch):—Original missive in Portuguese, *dato* 6th May, written by the King of Candia to Governor Adriaen van der Meÿden.

On the reading of this letter the Dutch council of war resolved to make an assault on Colombo next morning. This was accordingly done, and the bastion of S. Joaõ was captured and occupied, though the victory was dearly purchased.[398] Cannon having been placed on the captured bastion and levelled upon the city, the position of the Portuguese

became untenable ; and on May 10 an envoy appeared in the Dutch camp to treat for terms of peace, which were actually signed on the 12th.[399] While these negotiations were taking place the Dutch commander received the following letter[400] from Rája Siṇha :—

[16.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to Adriaen Van der Meiden, Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, who is at the siege of the city of Columbo, send much greeting.

In a letter that I wrote to Your Honour from this camp of Ragamvata on the 22nd of April[401] I dealt with the reason why my imperial person had refrained from writing to that city of Columbo, which was through fear that they might send forth from their stinking mouths some wicked words (as is the custom of that nation) which should be to the discredit of this imperial court ; but if, on account of their great ill-fortune and the evil of their sins, these Portuguese enemies should send some wicked reply (if it should be so), this is the time to give them the punishment for it as they deserve. For this reason, along with this my imperial letter there go two, one to the General of Columbo, the other to the citizens of the said city, and the copy of them I send to Your Honour that you may see them ; and if it seem good to you and to your Council to send the said imperial letters, Your Honour will treat with the dissavas who are there, and ask them for two persons who shall be capable and trustworthy to take them ; and if, on the other hand, in the said Council of Your Honours it appears to you that it is not prudent to send the draft of the said imperial letters on this occasion, let Your Honour retain them in your possession, and Your Honour will advise this imperial court of the cause for which you have refrained from doing it, at which my imperial person will be much gratified. The reason why I say this is simply that we may make an end with all speed, and to relieve my Hollanders from the fatigue that for so long a time past they have been suffering through this war. At present nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this great camp and court of Ragamvata, on the 11th of May, in the year 1656.

After I had written this imperial letter there arrived at this court an ola from my dissavas written at 3 o'clock in the morning and presented between 6 and 7 of the said day. In it they stated that three Portuguese officers had come from that city of Columbo to speak with Your Honour : one named Lourenço Fra, the second Diogo Leitaõ, and the third Hieronimo de Luçena,[402] and what they came to discuss with Your Honour and the reply that you gave them,

all this they related in the said ola; and from the draft of the said ola, being written and set out in two other languages, it appears in my imperial heart to be different and not in accord with the imperial letters; and for this cause if it seem good to you in your Council to send the said letters, let Your Honour do as I have instructed you hereabove.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ශ්‍රී Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—Original missive written by the King of Candia to Mr. Adriaan van der Meyden, *in dato* 11th May *anno* 1656.

The first of the documents referred to in the above letter is as follows:—[403]

[17.]

Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch and Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ.

My imperial person and my Prince whom God sent into this world continue in good and prosperous health for the protection of my loyal and faithful Hollanders, whom I esteem in my soul, and for the good of my vassals and the destruction of our enemies.

To Antonio de Sousa Coutinho, General of Columbo, I send this imperial letter. For so many months already you have been in this siege with much honour and credit, and like a man whose profession is that of arms defending this city; but now that you can do no more, it is time to no longer suffer the unfortunates to die, and to have pity for the fatigues that they are enduring. Consider what is good for you, for it is some time since my camp entered into this war, although my imperial person did not go to see it, but now it is time to know of its welfare, and also the condition in which that city of Columbo is, &c. From this great camp and court of Ragamvata, on the 11th of May, in the year 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ශ්‍රී Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—Original missive written by His Royal Majesty of Candia to the Colombo Portuguese Governor Anthony de Sousa, *in dato* 11th May, 1656.

The second document sent with Rája Sin̥ha's letter was as follows:—[403]

[18.]

Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ.

My imperial person and my Prince whom God sent into this world continue in good and prosperous health for the protection of my loyal and faithful Hollanders, whom I esteem in my soul, and for the good of my vassals and the destruction of our enemies.

To the citizens of Columbo I send this imperial letter. On this occasion it befits my imperial person to send you these lines. Having for many years been citizens of this city of Columbo, you have defended it very well; therefore do not weary yourselves in vain or be willing that your families perish; because the trials that you are now enduring my imperial person foretold to Dom Hieronimo de Azevedo at the time that he came as ambassador to this imperial court,[404] and in addition to that in several letters that before and after went therefrom I set forth ever the same. And in payment of the great favours which the kings my predecessors showed to the Portuguese, and the tyrannies with which they paid them, and the benefits that my imperial person has bestowed upon you, the evils and dishonours with which you have repaid me, for these aforesaid reasons, God has given you this chastisement now. From this great camp and court of Ragamvata, on the 11th of May, 1656.

Copy of the imperial letter that was sent to the citizens of Columbo.

ඝරලොදු

Indorsements (*in Dutch*):—(1) Sr. Blom.[405] [Be so good as?] to translate these two short letters as soon as you can, as they are waited for. (2) Copy of Candian missive, *in dato* 11th May, 1656, written to the inhabitants of the Columbo districts.

On the same day that the above were written Rája Siṉha sent another letter[406] to the Dutch commander stating that he had heard rumours of an intended capitulation of Colombo, and wished to know if it were true. He also referred to certain promises made by Hulft. What these promises were we learn from another letter,[407] written next day :—

[19.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to Adriaen Van der Meiden, Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, who is in my camp, send much greeting.

The letter of Your Honour written on the 12th of May was delivered at this imperial court at 7 o'clock at night on the same 12th day of the said month. Together with it came two copies of the articles of the conditions of treaty which Your Honours had made regarding the entry of that city of Columbo, both of which were of the same purport; and the articles which the Portuguese sent to Your Honour did not come, which before Your Honour made them, for what reason did you not first write me a letter, and send it to this imperial court by a person of trust, in order to let me know what was to be treated of in your Council, because the said articles which Your

Honour arranged with the Portuguese agree in no point with the conditions of peace which we made and swore to in Batecalou ; nor moreover do they fulfil what my much loved and valued Director-General wrote me in his letters and what he promised in my imperial presence, nor with what Your Honour after his death promised me many times in your letters. In addition to all this Your Honour treated with the Portuguese regarding the modeliares, araches, lascarins, and other native folk of this Empire, that they should be well treated, favoured, and honoured if they should remain under the orders of Your Honour. When my imperial person heard this I had no desire to know more as respects the other points, because I did not bring the Dutch nation to this my Empire nor laboured up till now for them to act thus towards me, and there is no cause for congratulation that Your Honour should now act otherwise. Nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this great camp and court of Ragamvata, on Friday, at 10 o'clock at night, on the 12th of May of the year 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ශ්‍රී Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*) :—Original missive written by His Royal Majesty of Candia to Governor Van der Meyden, *in dato* 12th May, 1656.

What Van der Meyden's reply to the above was I do not know ; but the strained relations between the allies grew worse daily, and frequent encounters took place between the Dutch and Kandyan forces, while many lowcountry Sinhalese deserted the Hollanders and joined the royal ranks.[408] On May 21 the King sent the following letter[409] to the Dutch commander :—

[20.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to Adriaen Van der Meiden, Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Gale, send much greeting.

My imperial person took much trouble to get the Dutch nation to come to this my Empire, and likewise when Admiral Adaõ Vestrevolt arrived with the vessels of the fleet at this my Empire, in the meantime my imperial person had gone to capture the fortress of Baticalou, and in that very place I made conditions of peace with the said nation ; and after they had been made, sworn to, and confirmed, the officers of the said nation who came to this my Empire did not fulfil them so and in such manner as had been agreed. And after this the captain of my imperial fortress of Gale, Brocardo Coqx, whom they call Captain Coconut,[410] along with the Commissary

Pedro Kuieft,[411] when they came to this my imperial court as ambassadors, with their powers corroborated the said terms of peace, swearing to them and confirming them in the same manner. And when I gave them leave to go to my fortress of Gale they took with them one of my dissavas[412] that they might give him charge of the territories of Maturé; and there, on account of the many disturbances that took place, they did not allow the said dissava to remain there, in order to perform services for this court, which was the cause of much loss and hurt to it; the which, although with much pain of my imperial heart, I bore with patience; and during this time, my imperial person being exceedingly grieved and distressed, there arrived at this my court my much loved and cherished Director-General, bringing all the forces of Holland to perform all the things touching my imperial service and to give fulfilment to these terms of peace, that so my imperial person might rest content and satisfied; and when he appeared in person in my imperial presence he declared by word of mouth that, as regarded all the matters of dispute and doubt which my imperial person had in my heart with respect to the Dutch nation, I might abandon and be quit of them, for he gave me his word, and in the name of the Company and the Prince of Orange, to do everything to my imperial pleasure and contentment, giving up to me the fortress of Nigumbo and the same city of Columbo, when with the favour of God he should have taken it; and that meanwhile any Hollanders who might be necessary to my imperial service should remain in this Empire and the rest he would take for the service of the Company. For the aforesaid reasons I gave my Hollanders every assistance in the way of succour and leave to take the city of Columbo; and since it was taken, of all the things promised from day to day they have been ignored. At present, until the said Company and the Prince of Orange know of these things, and take counsel as may appear good to them, you [*voçes*] may do your will, and as shall seem best to you; for as regards those who do not know God nor keep their word, when I warn and rebuke them, I for my part shall hold to God, &c.

Two imperial letters went from this court, and Your Honours sent the replies to Jorge Blume in the Dutch language; and they did not touch on any point that was required in the reply to my imperial letters. Let Your Honours write these rigmaroles to whomsoever it may seem well to you, and not to my imperial person; because the Director-General having come with all the forces of Holland, Your Honours now say that he brought them from Batavia, which causes me much reflection, and when one speaks in this manner how can we trust his words?

The copy of this imperial letter goes translated into the Dutch language in order that Your Honour may see it. Until the reply to it comes the said Jorge Blume remains here to take my imperial letter. At present nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c.

From this great camp and court of Raganvata, on the 21st of May, in the year 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent & Emperor of Ceilaõ.

In the translation of this imperial letter which goes in the Dutch language several words have been added.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*) :—Original missive written by His Royal Majesty of Candia to Governor Adriaan Van der Meyden, *in dato* 21st May, 1656.

We learn from Baldæus[413] that with the Dutch translation of the above Joris Blom sent a statement of verbal complaints made to him next day (May 22) by the King, viz., that certain rebels in Colombo, especially Gaspar Figueira,[414] had not been delivered up to him, and that, of various presents sent from Goa by the Viceroy for Rája Siŋha, the latter had received only two Persian cats, a sheep, &c.

To the King's letter Van der Meyden sent a very conciliatory reply,[415] which did not, however, have the desired effect of appeasing his Kandyan Majesty, who on May 29 wrote once more, but this time to Major Van der Laan, the "enemy of the Portuguese." The royal letter ran as follows :—[416]

[21.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this my far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to the Captain-Major Joaõ Vanderlan, send much greeting.

There arrived at this imperial court a letter from the Governor of my imperial fortress of Gale,[417] written on Wednesday, the 24th of May. In it he informed me that my Director-General had on many occasions spoken with him touching the delivering over of the fortress of Nigumbo and city of Columbo, when they should have captured it, and that he had said to him that he held it for certain that my imperial intention would be to fortify the lesser and demolish the greater part of that city.[418] What my imperial person knows and holds for certain is, that three times I have made terms of peace, confirmed and sworn to, with the Dutch nation, and made capitulations thereof; and I have no knowledge of anything else. Wherefore, if Your Honours wish that the said terms of peace continue, give fulfilment to that which is agreed to in the capitulations thereof, and do not now seek to propound riddles.

For the purpose of taking over the fortress of Nigumbo I shall send orders to the dissava of the Seven Corlas, that he go and take

possession of it; therefore let Your Honours send what officers you wish to carry out the handing over to him of the said fortress so and in such manner as is agreed to in the said terms of peace. It has several times come to my imperial notice that you had a wish to come to this imperial court: for this reason, when the said officers are dispatched to hand over the said fortress, let it be you who brings me the advice thereof, coming to present yourself before my imperial person; and when you wish to depart first give notice of this to my dissavas. At present nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this great camp and court of Raganvata, on the 29th of May, in the year 1656.

With this there goes also a translation in the Dutch language.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ශ්‍රී Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—Original missive written by His Royal Majesty of Candia to Mr. Joan Vanderlaan, *in dato* 29th May, 1656.

As the King did not confine himself to mere complaints, but showed his displeasure by various acts[419] of aggression, the Dutch Governor and Council addressed to His Majesty a letter[420] of remonstrance and warning, at the same time asking Rája Sin̥ha to send some disávas to take over Negombo after the fortifications had been destroyed. To further conciliate the King there were sent with this letter a falcon and two sparrow-hawks in charge of a Persian attendant. In acknowledgment of this letter and present Rája Sin̥ha wrote on June 13, as follows:—[421]

[22.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to Adrianen Vander Meyden, Governor of my Imperial Fortress of Galle, send much greeting.

The falcons which Your Honour sent to this imperial court with the Persian who bore them arrived thereat on the past Saturday, which was the 10th of this present month of June, and I was much pleased with them. The said falcons arrived at this imperial court as if they had not arrived, because the falconer who bore them had fallen sick. When this my imperial letter reaches there, if the said falconer be alive, send him without any delay to this imperial court, for my imperial person will be gladdened thereby; and if he continue sick they will cure him here with much care and diligence. And since he came from such a distance intrusted to this imperial court, it is right and just that he should be accorded all that is due and all hospitality.

And if he cannot come on his feet Your Honour will be able to send him in an *andor*,[422] and my imperial person will esteem this service, since it is done with much love and goodwill. And when he wishes to go I shall give him leave according to his wish.

The letter that Your Honour sent to this imperial court has been given to be translated into the Portuguese language ; and when it is translated, after it has been read in my imperial presence, conformably thereto I shall send you the answer. At present nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this great camp and court of Reigamvata, on the 13th of June, 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ஸ்ரீ Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Note in Dutch on face :—Received 19th June, 1656.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*) :—Original missive written by His Royal Majesty of Candia to Governor Adriaan Van der Meyden, *in dato* 13th June, 1656.

To pacificate His Majesty Van der Meyden wrote consenting to the Persian falconer's staying at the royal court at any rate until the Dutch ships were ready to sail for Gombroon. At the same time the Dutch who were with the King wrote urging the sending of the falconer and the bird as soon as possible, in order to expedite their own departure. Soon after some more hawks and other presents arrived from India for the King ; but whether or not they were forwarded does not appear. Probably not : for Rája Siṇha continued his hostilities. At length Joris Blom, the interpreter, whose position was becoming daily more unsafe, managed to effect his escape at night in a boat, having first made the guards drunk.[423]

In reply to a later letter from the Dutch Governor, Rája Siṇha wrote on October 23 of the same year, as follows :—[424]

[23.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to Adriaen Vander Myden, Governor of the Hollanders who are at present in this my Empire, send greeting.

The letter which you wrote on the 10th of this present month of October was delivered on the 11th of the said month. After the terms of peace were concluded in Baticalou there were some disagreements. But my imperial person healed them, simply that my lawful

vassals and the Hollanders who were to serve like themselves might live in much quiet, and for the increase of my imperial fame, and that the Company might get great profits: and this is what I have in my imperial heart; and if they will not understand, God will find a remedy.

You state in your letter that the Governor-General of Batavia will be very sorry. If the said Governor-General and the Company are persons who keep their words, they have reason to be sorry, and if this shall go on after this manner there will follow more and more sorrows.

In times past the Dutch nation has declared to me many things, and in all that I have found no truth. When my imperial person summoned the said Dutch nation to this my Empire the principal cause was that they might help me, and likewise capture the city of Columbo: since the most serene and famous Raju who was King of Ceitavaca laid several sieges to it[425] and could not take it, and for this reason I took into my imperial heart to capture it; and that they might serve me like my own vassals; and after capturing the said city they did things which are now patent to all the world, and of all this whatever they shall find out in course of time [* * *][426] that they will practise; and for these aforesaid reasons my imperial person is no longer free in this.

The Portuguese have written a letter to this imperial court; along with this I send a copy thereof that you may see it. The said Portuguese, in spite of the ills that I have done them, and the other strangers are esteeming me very well, &c. From this great camp and court of Ragamvata, on the 23rd of October, 1656.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent ₰ Emperor of Ceilaõ.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—1656. Original missive, *dato* 23rd October, written by the King of Candia to Governor Adriaen van der Meyden.

As Rája Siṇha's hostilities continued increasingly, the Dutch proceeded, after repeated warnings, to drive him and his forces from the vicinity of Colombo and from his camp at Ráyigamwatta.[427] This took place on November 10 and 11, 1656; and for a time all communications between the erstwhile allies ceased, whilst the Portuguese at Jaffna, to whom the King made overtures, sent back his envoy with contumely.[428] After the final expulsion of the Portuguese from Ceylon, however, following on the capture, in the early part of 1658, of Mannár and Jaffna by the Dutch, the latter appear to have made approaches to the Kandyan

monarch, with a view to the re-establishment of peaceful relations; for we find Rája Siṇha writing on November 14 of that year to Ryklof van Goens, as follows:—[429]

[24.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch and Greatest and Most Potent Emperor of this my far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, &c., to the Admiral-General of the Naval Fleet, Captain-General of Sea and Land, and Superintendent of the Dutch nation in this my Empire of Ceilaõ, send much greeting.

On Friday, which was the 8th of this present month of November, there came to my imperial notice that Your Honour had arrived at this my Empire of Ceilaõ,[430] and at this same time there took place an act of treason against my imperial person,[431] such as happened to no monarch of this monarchy, the causes being explained to Your Honour in these few lines, in consequence of which it was not possible to dispatch the messenger with the reply to the letters of Your Honour. One of these [causes] is the observing of the festivals of our God,[432] which have not been held for some years past by reason of the wars and my imperial absence, extending for some days beyond the accustomed time, which the same messenger moreover has seen. The other is that after the messenger had received his answer and was prepared to go with the letter already sealed, there happened to me that some traitorous vassals of this my Empire attempted to practise treason against me by means of poison and sorceries, which some ten or twelve years ago my imperial person succeeded in discovering every time, and punishing them up to the present with great penalties, which it pleased God to be again discovered: whereupon I commanded to execute upon them, as I have done, the punishment which such treason and falsehood merits;[433] and yet with all this they did not resolve to cease from their evil intents and wicked purposes; on account of which act my imperial person, and the prelates and friars of our law and the nobles of this court, with the other royal vassals, both of the low and high country, are doing all that is possible to utterly extinguish all these traitors. And if with the favour of God we shall put an end to all these things, and my imperial person continue in perfect health, as I trust he will grant me, I shall reply to the letters of Your Honour, and also send a trusty person from this imperial court to learn of your welfare and present to you my compliments on the victories you have gained, accompanied by a gift and present that your person merits; and in case my imperial person (which God forefend) be not in perfect health, I remind Your Honour that the Dutch nation has never had any agreement or contract with my imperial person, nor I with it, but only at a summons of mine, without further delay or waiting they came and made terms of peace with my imperial person, one of the conditions being that we were to be friends of friends and enemies of enemies,

as they have up till now proved, driving the Portuguese enemies from this my Empire, and placing my vassals in subjection to my imperial crown, whereby they have always served me with much fervour, love, and loyalty, shedding their blood and giving their lives, with great expenses and costs. For which aforesaid reasons I enjoin on Your Honours by the love which you have always shown me in the affairs of my imperial service, that you do all that is possible to obtain satisfaction of all the traitors and sorcerers until their tenth generations who may be against my imperial crown, because in this you will do great services to God, and the Dutch nation will acquire great fame, and you will be esteemed among the monarchs of the world. Having commanded the messenger Frc°. Van den Berch[434] to be called into my imperial presence, and having asked him if he wished to go with this, he declared to me that having brought a letter with such good news, and expecting to take back one of a more cheerful character, he could not take this of such a sad nature: this is the reason why I send this to Your Honour by another; and along with this imperial letter there also goes one from him. Nothing further suggests itself. Our Lord, &c. From this imperial city of Candea, 14th of November, 1658.

RAJA SINGA RAJU, Most Potent & Emperor of Ceilaõ.

All the traitors who shall attempt these treasons, or who shall be of their factions, if they flee to Your Honours, or if they seek the help of the Dutch nation, of whatever rank they may be, both high and low, or captives and strangers, of whatever nation they may be, I enjoin on Your Honour that you send them to me with good guards as they deserve; and let not Your Honour help them nor show them any favour, nor the other officers or soldiers of Your Honour.

Indorsement (*in Dutch*):—Received 17th November, in Colombo.

In May, 1659, Governor Van der Meyden, with a mixed force of various nationalities, defeated and expelled Rája Siṉha's troops from Kalpiṭiya,[435] but the King seems to have taken no notice of the occurrence;[436] and in the next letter[437] we find him suffering from fever as well as troubled by traitors:—

[25.]

Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Most Magnificent and Most Potent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, to the Governor of Gale.[438]

At the end of February, an unlucky time, I came from the city to the river to my imperial palace, and likewise to view some elephant fights;[439] and in the meantime I was attacked with fever, from which I am at present suffering. For which reasons I send these few lines in order to let Your Honour know. Nothing further suggests

itself. God keep Your Honour, &c. From the country residence of Bibile,[440] on Monday, at 10 o'clock, the 21st of June, in the year 1660. Those who in times past infected my imperial person with poison, sorceries, and treasons I resolved to put an end to by utterly destroying them, as was patent to Your Honour and to your ensign,[441] who on that occasion was present at this imperial court, who doubtless, it appears to me, would relate all these occurrences, as being present at them, and also in many other ways. And now with this severe indisposition, if God our Lord shall cast his divine eyes upon my imperial person, of those who serve me well with love and loyalty I shall advise Your Honour, and moreover if any one come from thence to see my imperial person in these afflictions I shall also display it to him, in order that he may remain on terms of friendship with those who serve me with fidelity. Our Lord, &c.

El Rej[442] ශ්‍රී Singa
Raja Raju.

Just a month later the King addressed another letter[443] to the Dutch *commandeur* of Galle, as follows :—

[26.]

[I] Raja Singa Raju, Most Exalted Monarch, Most Potent and Most Magnificent Emperor of this far-famed Empire of Ceilaõ, send much greeting to the Governor of my Fortress of Gale.

When my imperial person brought the Dutch nation to this my Empire of Ceilaõ it was that it might be in all things under my orders and service, and in obedience, fidelity, loyalty, and love, more than my native subjects ; and I always thought that in my afflictions you were remembering it. Let it be now present to Your Honours ; and therefore I chose you from among the many nations and strangers, and with double love honoured you, who also came doing your duty until recent times; and in these last few [years] several things happened which I held for afflictions, and after they had passed I informed Your Honours of my indisposition ; and now on this occasion you delay so much with the reply to my imperial letter, a thing which you never did before. I God our Lord do not know how the time has changed, and until to-day I never thought in my imperial heart that Your Honours would show such dilatoriness in my affairs and service. However, God is great. Of late, when I was indisposed, I went several times to stay in my country residence of Nilamba[444] on account of its being a cool and beautiful place in the interior on a flank of the mountains,[445] where my imperial person got benefit, and now I have come to the city on account of the *perĕras*,[446] and am about to leave for the said country residence of Nilamba to see if I can there with the favour of God get well of my

illnesses, and after gaining health with joy return to my imperial city.[447] Nothing further suggests itself. God keep Your Honours. Wednesday, 11 o'clock in the day, 21st of the month of July, in the year 1660.

El Rej Singa ශ්‍රී Raja Raju.

Towards the end of this year a soldier was sent by the Dutch with a letter to Rája Sin̥ha, but the nature of the communication is not stated.[448] No answer was received from the King, who detained the messenger, as he had kept previous envoys, as a prisoner. It was resolved therefore in future to send only natives as messengers.[449]

In 1664 occurred the rebellion against Rája Sin̥ha, which almost cost him his throne, and caused him to flee for safety to the fortresses of Hanguranketa, whence he addressed letters to the Dutch couched in a humble strain, and asking for assistance against his enemies.[450]

During the next twenty-three years, until the King's death in December, 1687,[451] letters continued to pass between him and the Dutch; but none of the correspondence seems to have come down to us. The tenor of the communications is, however, given in the *Beknopte Historie*,[452] to which I would refer the curious reader.

NOTES.

[1] This is the date given by Baldæus (*Ceylon*, p. 44*e*), and I believe it to be the correct one. The *Mahâwan̥sa* (Wijésin̥ha's translation, chap. XCV., v. 26) says that Senerat "reigned seven years;" and this statement has led writers on Ceylon history into the utmost confusion. But the word translated "reigned" (*ṭhito*) means simply "lived" or "continued;" and I suspect that the "seven years" spoken of *followed* the partition of the kingdom described in the preceding verses (see next note). The *Rájávaliya* (Guṇasékara's translation, p. 101) says that "Senarat reigned twenty-five years and died at the expiration of 1555 years of the Saka era." As Senarat's reign began probably in 1605, if it lasted twenty-five years it must have ended in 1630; while Saka 1555 + 78 = 1633. That he died before 1634 and probably before 1633, appears certain from the fact that on 15th April, 1633, a treaty was entered into between the Portuguese and "King Maastana," *i.e.*, Rája Sin̥ha II. (see note [43] *infra*).

[Since this paper has gone to press I have found in J. F. Judice Biker's *Colleccao de Tratados*, &c., t. II., p. 38 *et seq.*, full details of the treaty of peace made with the King of Kandy in 1633, from which it would seem that Senarat, though no longer reigning, was still living. The date of his death is, therefore, uncertain, but was probably 1633 or 1634.]

[2] See *Maháwansa*, chap. XCV., vv. 21–25, and Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 33, for details of the partition. None of the authorities states how long before Senarat's death this division took place (but see previous note, and *cf.* Rája Sinha's letter of September 9, 1636, *infra*).

[3] According to Baldæus (*u.s.*) and the *Maháwansa* (chap. XCVI., v. 4). The *Rájávaliya* says that " Kumárasinha had died before that date " (*i.e.*, of Senarat's death). See also *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 54.

[4] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., pp. 61–62, and footnotes, II., p. 415 ; *Rájávaliya*, p. 102. The Batavia *Dagh-Registers* for 1641–42 and 1643–44 contain several references to this prince ; and the latter *Dagh-Register* gives (pp. 255–258) the translation of a curious letter written by Vijayapála from Colombo to the Dutch, asking for their friendship and help. This letter seems to confirm the statement of the *Rájávaliya* (*u.s.*) that Vijayapála resided for three years in Colombo before leaving for Goa, as against Ribeiro's assertion that he sailed thither in December, 1641 (perhaps this last date is a mistake for 1644). See further regarding Vijayapála, *infra*, notes [274] and [280].

[5] See Rája Sinha's letter, *infra*.

[6] According to Gunasékara's English translation of the *Rájávaliya*, Rája Sinha " sent letters to the *Jagadará* in Holland with a view to bring the Dutch into this country and with their assistance to compel the immediate surrender of Colombo." In the glossary at the beginning of this edition the word *Jagadará* is explained as follows : " Customs officer or collector. From the context it would seem to mean here 'the Government.' " The learned translator has here fallen into a most extraordinary blunder. I suppose he has taken *Jagadará* as the Sinhalese corruption of *jerquer* ; whereas in fact it is simply an attempt to represent the original name of Batavia, viz., *Jacatra* (which, of course, is not in *Holland* but in *Java* ; but the *Rájávaliya* compiler's notions of geography were vague). It will be seen from the letters below that Rája Sinha almost always uses the name Jacatra —rarely Batavia.

[7] Whether the original of this letter is still in existence I cannot say. Baldæus gives a translation of it in his work on Ceylon (chap. XVII. of Dutch ed.). The English translation (from the German version) in *Churchill's Collection of Voyages* gives the substance pretty accurately ; but as this is Rája Sinha's first letter to the Dutch, with whom he for so many years subsequently carried on a correspondence (not always of a very cordial nature), and as there are a number of mistakes in the spelling of names in Baldæus's version, I have thought it well to

give a fresh translation from the Dutch version, pointing out in footnotes any errors, discrepancies, &c. In these notes G indicates the German version and E the English translation. I have enclosed in brackets [ ] some words that I believe to be interpolations by Baldæus.

[8] G and E "Raja."

[9] G "Zeylon."

[10] G and E "Settevaca."

[11] G and E "Jafnapatnam," and so further on.

[12] G and E "Ouva."

[13] G and E "Quatrecorle."

[14] G and E "Settecorle."

[15] G and E "Trinquenemale," and so further on.

[16] E "Valefebuitena." The Portuguese original evidently had "Velase, Bintena," which the Dutch transcriber has confounded in the above form.

[17] Here again the transcriber has made a hash, "Panoa, Patoveta," representing some such forms in the Portuguese original as "Panciapato" = Pallesiyapattu, and "Evaeta" = Héwáheṭa (*cf.* Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 200 *n*).

[18] G and E "Putelaon."

[19] *Sic* for "Vallave."

[20] *Sic* for "Uranura" (Uḍunuwara).

[21] Yaṭinuwara.

[22] *Sic* for "Tumpane."

[23] *Sic* for "Arcepato" (Hárispattu).

[24] G and E "Caleture."

[25] G and E "Negombo."

[26] G and E "Calpentyn."

[27] *Cf.* this list with those given in Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. I.; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 19–20, 200 *n*; W. Schouten (C.A.S. Journ., XI., p. 343); and *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 59, 335, and 381.

[28] *Portugees* (singular).

[29] For "Balane."

[30] *Sic* either for "Allago" (Alawwa) or more probably for "Sofragaõ."

[31] For "Matiagama"=Mattégama (see *M.L.R.*, IV., pp. 155 *n*, 132 *n*).

[32] G has "500 Portuguese soldiers and captains." E has "500 Portuguese inhabitants."

[33] For details of these engagements between the Portuguese and Siṇhaese see Bocarro, Dec. XIII., caps. CXI.-CXIV., CLXVIII.-CLXIX., CLXXIII.-CLXXIV. (*cf. M.L.R.*, IV., pp. 23, 55–56). The conclusion of terms of peace between the combatants is described by Bocarro in cap. CLXXIV. as follows :—"The King of Candia continued trying to procure peace with the Portuguese, as we have said above, for which purpose he sent ambassadors and Domingos Rodriguez *o Troao* and Balthasar Ribeiro with some thirty other Portuguese. Regarding

which the General took counsel, and sent to advise the Viceroy at Goa, where the letters arrived this winter, and having been laid before the Council, it was found that the King of Candia, called Anaras [read *Enarat*] Pandar, begged that the State would make peace with him in perpetuity, he making himself a vassal of His Majesty, with the obligation of paying as tribute yearly four elephants of five cubits each, one thousand *amanoes* [ammunams] of areca, and two hundred *bares* of cinnamon (all of which was of great importance), begging that His Majesty would confirm him in the kingdom, and to three sons [*sic*] that he had. And the terms of peace appearing to all to be very honourable, they agreed that they should be granted to him, with the proviso, however, that the confirmation of the kingdom, seeing that it pertained to His Majesty (by the dotation of it that had been made to him by Dom João, the prince his rightful heir, who went to Portugal, and whose name had been assumed by the rebel Nicapety Bandar), should be granted to him in such a manner that there should always be room for His Majesty to take possession of it, on the State's having the forces which were now so necessary for the enemies of Europe. The King of Candia also promised to build anew at his own cost the fortress of Balané, and to hand it over with all the artillery and other things that he had taken therein; and that he would consent to the erection of a fortress in Candia, and the quartering therein of a garrison of Portuguese; all of which, with the other conditions, appeared very favourable, and so the General Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira sent as ambassador to Candia Diogo de Sousa da Cunha, a *casado* in Columbo, and the father Frei Gaspar da Magdalena and another friar of the order of St. Francis; and because, when the king proposed terms of peace with the said conditions, the rebel Nicapety was having great success, acclaimed as king by the whole island, the fear of whom drove him to seek to ally himself with the Portuguese, on seeing the many times that we defeated him, and that he had little to fear from him, he proceeded to renounce most of the conditions; whereupon there ensued many debates on both sides, and in spite of lacking the restitution of the fortress of Balané and the granting of a fortress in Candia and the rest of the points of the tribute, peace was concluded with him solely with the condition of his becoming a vassal of His Majesty, with two elephants as tribute; Barreto thus being left, making war on the two dissavas of Sofragão and Maturé, having them for himself, and being ruler of them. The which terms of peace were proclaimed in Columbo on the 17th of August, 1617." Danvers (*Report on Port. Records*, p. 133) says:—" . . . on the death of D. Catharina, Portuguese troops were sent to take possession of the kingdom of Kandy; they were however repulsed, and on the 24th [*sic*] August, 1617, a treaty was signed with the King of Kandy, under which, in return for an acknowledgment of his sovereignty by the King of Portugal, he agreed to pay a tribute of two elephants yearly, to suppress any rising within his dominions, to give up all the Portuguese taken at Balané,

to send as hostages people of position, and to release all captives who might be Christians." (See also C.A.S. Journ., XI., pp. 467–468.)

[34] G "Constantinus de Saa"; E "Constantine de Saa."

[35] Frey Francisco Negrão (see Faria y Sousa, tom. II., pt. IV., cap. III.).

[36] The English translation in *Churchill's Collection* has "the Emperor happening to die," which is not justified by either the German or the Dutch version.

[37] G "Ouve;" E has "Dukedom of Ouve."

[38] G "*Feldzeugmeister*,"; E "Colonel of the Artillery."

[39] G "*Gros Capitäins*;" E "Governor" (*sic* in singular).

[40] For fuller details of the events that occurred during Constantino de Sá's Generalship see his son's *Rebelion de Ceylan* (translated by Lieut.-Col. St. George in C.A.S. Jl., XI); also Faria y Sousa, tom. III., parts III. and IV.; and Ribeiro, bk. II., chaps. I.- II.; *Rájávaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 101. The periods of time mentioned by Rája Siṇha in connection with the occurrence of events are not correct.

[41] This name, which might lead some unwary reader into a belief in the existence in Ceylon of traces of the Ráma epos, is merely an ingenious misreading by the Dutch transcriber of *Manicaravare*, the Portuguese form of the Siṇhalese Męnikkaḍavara, ṇear the village of which name in the Three Kóralés the Portuguese long had a fortified post (see Bell's *Rep. on the Kęgalla Dist.*, 1892, pp. 30–32).

[42] G "S. Thome;" E "St. Thomas."

[43] See Faria y Sousa, t. III., pt. IV., cap. XIV. Rája Siṇha omits to mention that he was defeated by Jorge de Almeida in 1631, and himself obliged to sue for peace (see Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. II.); and that it was the threats of Diogo de Mello that brought about the treaty of 1633. In Danvers's *Rep. on Port. Records*, p. 134, the terms are given as follows:—"That the dominions of Kandy shall be divided among three kings, sons of Queen D. Catharina, lawful heiress of these territories, and as Kandy is the principal kingdom, he, the King, Maastana, is the chief; that all thieves be handed over to either side, together with their plunder; that neither side break the peace and declare war without giving notice and the reasons for doing so; that the fortress of Batecalou be the property of Portugal, but the land about it the property of the King, who is, however, not to approach within 2,000 paces of the fort; that the King of Kandy's tribute of two elephants be reduced to one elephant per annum for six years; that a prelate of the order of S. Francisco be allowed to reside in Kandy to minister to the religious wants of any Christians who may be there; and that on peace being signed the King of Kandy shall give up all captains and other Portuguese whom he may have as prisoners." This treaty was concluded on April 15, 1633.

[44] When Batticaloa capitulated to the Dutch in May, 1638, fifty natives said to have been concerned in this murder were impaled by the king's orders (see Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XXI.).

[45] E has "shall rejoice us with their light."

[46] E has "shall continue in the firmament."

[47] See W. van Geer's *Opkomst van het Nederl. Gezag over Ceilon*, p. 34.

[48] Afterwards Governor of Malacca, and subsequently a member of the Council of India. Valentyn gives his name as Jan Thyszoon Payart. Baldæus (*Ceylon*, p. 44 *f*) states that it was by order of the Council at Batavia that Thyssen was sent as one of the envoys.

[49] See Baldæus, chap. XVIII. (XIX. of English trans.); also summary in C.A.S. Journ., XI., p. 29.

[50] See Baldæus, *loc. cit.*; also *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 69, where a translation of the letter (dated November 21, 1637) is given.

[51] See Baldæus, *loc. cit.*; also summary in C.A.S. Journ., XI., p. 30.

[52] The Dutch translation in Baldæus has:—"The aforesaid Ship Governor writes me of one or two cargoes of pepper; y. K may perhaps send five ships, in order to capture the fortress of Batecalo, and to erect another in those ports, also to take all the cinnamon that might be there." For "Ship Governor" the German version has simply "Governor," and instead of "pepper" it has "cinnamon." If Karel Reyniers was the person referred to as "*Scheeps Gouverneur*" (a curious title), certainly there is in his letter of October 20, 1637, no reference to pepper; but he may have written the King a subsequent letter. "*Die havenen*" ("those ports") is, I think, a misprint for "*die haven*" ("that port"); though the German version has "*und einige andere, sich in die Hafen zu machen;*" and the English translation quite incorrectly says, "and some other vessels to other harbours, in order to take in all the cinnamon that is to be had there."

[53] The English translation has, "and then are to return to Jacatra, in order to return afterwards with all possible speed to the harbour of Columbo," &c.; which, though justified by the German version, is not in accordance with the statement of the Dutch, and is a manifest blunder.

[54] See description in Baldæus, chap. XIX. (English translation, chap. XX.).

[55] Regarding this man see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, III., p. 159.

[56] Baldæus says, "110 men and 70 soldiers." The English translation wrongly has "180 men and 70 soldiers."

[57] The Danes, undeterred by the ill-success of the expedition to Ceylon under Boschhouwer and Ove Giedde in 1618–20, seem to have at this time renewed their attempts to gain a footing in the Island. Danvers's *Rep. on Port. Records* says (p. 152):—"The President of the Danish East India Company (Bernard Pessar), who was then on friendly terms with the Portuguese, informed the Viceroy, under date the 21st September, 1637, that the Dutch were preparing to blockade Malacca, Ceylon, and Goa." And elsewhere (p. 134):—"In the year

1637 the Danes endeavoured to establish a factory in Ceylon, but this was vigorously opposed by the Portuguese Viceroy, and they were in consequence unsuccessful. Later on in the year the President of the Danish Company informed the Viceroy that the Dutch were preparing forces to blockade Malacca, Ceylon, and Goa, and he offered to assist the Portuguese in the defence of Tranquebar or Negapatam, in consideration of his Company being allowed to settle a factory in Ceylon. This offer, however, appears to have led to no better results, for it appears that in the following year the Danes renewed their offer to assist the Portuguese against the Dutch in Ceylon if they would permit them to buy areca, elephants, and cinnamon there; but the Portuguese Council considered that this offer could not be entertained without a treaty being first entered into for that purpose by their respective kings. Notwithstanding these repeated refusals, in April, 1638, the President of the Danish Company sent provisions and ammunition to the Portuguese in Ceylon, which, for some unexplained reason, seem never to have reached them; he further offered to send money to pay their soldiers if the Portuguese would agree to let him purchase elephants and cinnamon at a fair price, but I have been unable to find any evidence that this request was more favourably received than those previously made." The "President of the Danish East India Company" (*sic*), who made these offers of help to the Portuguese, was Baerent Pessaert, a former servant of the Dutch East India Company, who, having quarrelled with his employers, took service with the Danes, and was sent out in 1636 to succeed Roelant Crape as head of the factory at Tranquebar. His offers to the Portuguese were made partly out of revenge towards his fellow-countrymen. Regarding this action of his, I have found no references in the Danish or Dutch authorities, who, however, give numerous details of his (often unscrupulous) doings and of his tragic death in June, 1645 (see Schlegel's *Samlung zur Dänischen Geschichte*, I., IV., pp. 168–175; Bat. *Dagh-Registers*, 1636 *et seq.; Reizen van Georg Andriesz*, pp. 81–82).

[58] See Baldæus, chap. XX. (Eng. trans., chap. XXI.); also summary in C.A.S. Journ., XI., p. 32.

[59] So Coster says in his letter translated in *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 44. Baldæus makes it April 2nd.

[60] See accounts in Baldæus, pp. 44*g*–44*h*, 54–55 (Eng. trans., chap. XXI.), and Ribeiro (lib. II., cap. IV.). These two writers assign totally different reasons for the undertaking of this punitive expedition; both may be right, however.

[61] By an unaccountable blunder Baldæus makes this 14th *April*, and describes the interview as being between Coster and the king. But see Coster's own letter, *in loc. cit. supra.*

[62] *Cf. Rájávaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 102.

[63] For further details see Coster's letter *ubi supra*, and Baldæus, chap. XXI. (Eng. trans., chap. XXII.). The former says nothing of the impalement of fifty Siṇhalese by the king.

[64] Given in full in Baldæus, *loc. cit.* Ribeiro (lib. II., cap. V.) gives a very inaccurate account of the negotiations between Rája Siṇha and the Dutch, and the principal features of a treaty which, he says, was agreed to in *March*, 1638.

[65] The 10th article provided that, "It shall be permitted to the neighbours of *Dauei* and *Tanzouwer*, but no others, to come and go with their boats and *mantimentos* in His Majesty's dominions." The English translation has "the neighbouring nations of *Dauey* and *Tanjouwer*." By *Dauei* (for *Davei*) doubtless the Maldives are intended. In his letters to the Dutch Government of Ceylon in the 18th century the Sultan of those islands called his kingdom *Divehi Rajjé.*

[66] See W. van Geer, *Opkomst*, &c., pp. 41–42.

[67] See Coster's letters of 14th June and 2nd July in *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 52. The story of a serious Portuguese loss, retailed in the late letter on the testimony of the native "Governor" of Batticaloa district, is clearly a cock-and-bull invention (*cf.* W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 43–44).

[68] See Baldæus, *loc. cit.*

[69] See Coster's letter of 31st December, 1638, in *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 52.

[70] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 76.

[71] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 59.

[72] I do not know when Coster left Batticaloa for Goa, whither he had been ordered to go to inform Admiral Caen of the condition of affairs in Ceylon. He was to have gone in the *Valck* apparently ; but this vessel seems to have been lost (see Coster's letter of 31st December, *ubi supra*). We next hear of him as Vice-Commander of the Dutch fleet that captured Trincomalee in April, 1639.

[73] According to W. van Geer (*Opkomst*, &c., p. 46), Caen's whole fleet had on 12th March dropped anchor before Colombo, expecting to be supported in an attack on that fort by the Kandyan forces operating from the land side (*cf.* Baldæus, end of chap. XXI.). But finding no sign of Rája Siṇha's troops, the Dutch Admiral, after some interchange of cannon shots, sailed in disgust towards the end (rather in the early part) of April for Trincomalee.

[74] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 180 ; and C.A.S. Journ., X., p. 123 *et seq.* Ribeiro (lib. II., chap. VI.) gives a very erroneous account of the capture of Batticaloa and Trincomalee, both of which places, he says, were taken by the Hollanders in February, 1639.

[75] The King himself acted in a similar fashion at the recapture of Negombo in 1644.

[76] See C.A.S. Journ., X., pp. 123–140 ; W. van Geer, *Opkomst*, &c., pp. 47–48 ; *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 116.

[77] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[78] See the extract from the Council's letter of 9th November, 1638, to Caen, in W. van Geer's *Opkomst*, &c., p. 46 *n.*

[79] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 52. The letter is dated 24th August, 1639.

[80] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 116 ; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–52 ; and Bijlage, IV.

[81] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53, and footnote containing extract from letter of Lucasz, in which he calls Rája Sinha " this sly fox," who wished to make the Dutch a catspaw.

[82] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., p. 22 *n.*

[83] For details of the capture of Negombo see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 76, 99, 117, 142; Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. VII.

[84] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 75, 142, 381, 382, 117–119; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 55–58, and Bijl., V.

[85] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 76, 142 ; also C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 370–373 ; Baldæus, chap. XXII. (XXIII. of Eng. trans.); and Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. VII. A full and graphic account of the siege and capture of Galle is given by Father Fernão de Queiroz, in caps. 12–15 of his *Conquista Temporale Espiritual de Ceilao*, a translation of which account by Mr. F. H. de Vos is printed in the C.A.S. Jl. *Cf.* W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 60, and footnote.

[86] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 118 ; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–63, and Bijl., V. and VI. ; C.A.S. Jl., XVII., p. 373.

[87] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 335.

[88] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 336.

[89] For details of Coster's embassy to Kandy and his murder see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 334–336, 342, 343, 350 (*cf.* also W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–65, and Bijl., VI.). It is probable that Coster, like Sebald de Weerd, brought his fate upon himself by his violent temper and contemptuous behaviour towards the Sinhalese. The Dutch writers themselves admit this.

[90] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 350, 37 ; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 65, 66, and Bijl., VI. This officer was, however, soon afterwards convicted of conspiring with some natives to steal certain valuable property of Coster's from the chests the latter had left in Galle, and had a very severe sentence passed upon him (see C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 347–352).

[91] *Cf.* C.A.S. Jl., XVII., p. 338 ff.

[92] See Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. VIII.; *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 357, 38.

[93] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 366, 414, 20.

[94] See Ribeiro, *loc. cit.*; and *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 6, 367, 374 ; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69, and Bijl., VIII.–X. ; C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 364–369, 259 ff.

[95] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 375, 381, 392, 398.

[96] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 413.

[97] Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XII.; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 83–87 ; C.A.S. Jl., XVII., p. 297 *et seq.*

[98] *Cf. Rájávaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 102. For details of the events in Ceylon during this period see C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 314–506 ; W.

van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 74–119, and Bijl., XIII.–XXIV.; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1641–42 and 1643–44 *passim.* That the Council at Batavia had lost all faith in Rája Sinha's sincerity is shown by the fact that on 29th September, 1643, they wrote to the King advising him of the fleet they were sending to Ceylon under Caron, but telling him nothing of their plans (see W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 108). See also *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 84, 85, 67, IV., pp. 31, 36; Baldæus, *Mal. en Chor.*, chaps. XIV.–XV.; Ribeiro, lib., II., caps. XV.–XVI.

[99] See Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XV.; *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 87; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 125–128.

[100] See C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 315, 316, 334, 335, 375, 400, 531, 532, 505. The Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1643–44 states (p. 235) that on February 22, 1644, Rája Sinha sent three envoys to Caron to ask if they did not know that he was descended from the sun, and to complain that he was not addressed by the Governor-General in accordance with his royal dignity, since that official had written him a letter signed "Your affectionate friend," which did not square with his Imperial Majesty's ideas, and had also written "you" instead of "Your Royal Majesty;" that they laid the death of Coster at his door, and other such-like concocted futilities (*opgeraepte futiliteyten*).

[101] The original has disappeared. A contemporary Dutch translation is printed at pp. 507–508 of the Bat. *Dagh-Register* for 1643–44, the compiler of which, on p. 238, describes this and the following letter of Rája Sinha's as containing "blauwe excusen" (mere excuses) for the non-fulfilment of the royal promises.

[102] The word *disava* was used by the Portuguese for *disávani* as well to denote the holder of the office, the sense being indicated by the masculine or feminine article. *Cf.* letter of February 16, 1645, and others *infra.*

[103] The Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1643–44 says (p. 234) that on February 22, 1644, Gerrit Moutmaker, writing from Galle, reported that "Radja Singa had ordered and commanded all the cinnamon peelers and inhabitants of Gale Corle to take up their residence not nearer than six to seven miles from Gale. At the same time he had summoned some of the chief of our special Singalese, on account of the great familiarity entertained by them towards the Netherlanders, among them the *dessanacka*, to come to him to Candy to be punished, and had ordered no provisions to be brought to our people, in the hope that they might thereby come to suffer want." The same *Dagh-Reg.*, quoting Ceylon letters of April 24, 1644, says (p. 238): "After the king's dessave Ekenack modliaer had had all the inhabitants around Gale conveyed three or four miles into the mountains, he finally once more on April 16 appeared in Gale with the intention of dominating from there all the fishers, *tisidoors* (read *tifidoors*, *i.e.*, toddy-drawers), and the rest, being in our service. Whereupon one of his lascarins, who was caught attempting to put this into practice, was clapped into

chains, which his master the dessave tried politely to apologize for," &c. Again, the same *Dagh-Reg.* quotes (p. 242) a letter from Galle, dated May 12, 1644, in which Thys reports that "on the last of April three of our soldiers with the leave of their officers having gone out to cut a maypole were set upon by ten or twelve inimical Singalese who gave themselves out as the King's people (one of them who would not let himself be taken prisoner being cut down), and carried off over the passage of Gindura (in view of Radia Singa's lascarins). This affair according to all appearances was undertaken not without Radia's knowledge, since his dessave had two days before betaken himself from Gale to Biligam, and from there, owing to the arrival of our people (to view that district, being 200 strong), to Mature, where first there was denial, and then not without fear the matter was brought to light, he knowing how to comport himself artfully after the Singalese fashion in that matter, but according to our report at least some of the sharks that carried off the two soldiers would be caught."

[104] Port., expenses.

[105] Port. *mantimentos*, provisions.

[106] *Sic* for "Manicarware," *i.e.*, Meṇikkaḍawara in Beligal kóralé.

[107] *Sic* for "Candea." The Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1643–44, quoting a letter of Thyssen's dated March 28, says (p. 237) that "Radia Singa had betaken himself into the mountains to Candia and ordered all his people to assemble in Mupeligame" (*i.e.*, Mápalagama : see C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 460–461).

[108] The Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1643–44 says (p. 236) that Caron, before sailing from Ceylon in March, 1644, left over 800 Dutch soldiers in Galle, "with the intention that ere long 400 of these soldiers should set out for Madampe and the river Alican, being the dividing limit of the territories of Gale and Colombo, in order to ascertain what was to be done there."

[109] *Cf.* C.A.S. Jl., XVII., p. 370 *n.*

[110] This is, I think, Wilgama near Heṭṭimulla in the Máwata pattu, Kẹgalla District.

[111] For Port. *capitao mór*, captain-major.

[112] I can find no record of this letter.

[113] The original letter has disappeared, but a contemporary Dutch translation is printed at pp. 309–310 of the Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1643–44.

[114] No copy of this seems to exist.

[115] Caron sailed from Galle for Batavia on March 19, 1644.

[116] Port. *covados*, cubits.

[117] Port. *maos*, maunds.

[118] The Dutch translator is, I think, responsible for this word. Rája Siṇha almost invariably uses the old name Jacatra (see *infra*, and note 6 *supra*).

[119] Pieter Boreel was the commissioner sent from Batavia to arrange with the Portuguese authorities the terms of an armistice (see W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 94 *et seq.*).

[120] That is, the districts over which the Dutch were to exercise authority (see *infra*).

[121] Port. *tregoas*, armistice.

[122] *Sic* for Acuraça, *i.e.*, Akuṛessa. Regarding the disastrous defeat of the Dutch by the Portuguese at Akuṛessa in May, 1643, see Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XIII.; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1643–44, pp. 221–222; C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 413, 420, 444.

[123] Colombo was not taken by the Dutch until twelve years later; and its capture did not afford Rája Siṉha the satisfaction he anticipated (see his letters *infra*).

[124] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 129–132, and Bijl., XXVIII.; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1644–1645, p. 266 *et seq.*; Joh. von der Behr., *Diarium*, pp. 38–43.

[125] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1644–1645, p. 291 ff; Baldæus, *Mal. en Chor.*, chap. XV.; Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVI.

[126] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, Bijl., p. 77; C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 36; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1643–44, p. 234 *et seq.*

[127] For details of occurrences in Ceylon subsequent to the Dutch-Portuguese agreement of 10th January, 1645, see W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 136 *et seq.*; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1644–45, p. 295 ff; *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., pp. 92, 93, 98–100, 107–109, 114, 115, 123, 124.

[128] Translated from the original letter in Portuguese in the Ceylon Record Office. A contemporary Dutch translation is printed in the Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1644–45, pp. 299-301. W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 146, says erroneously: "During the whole year 1645 the maharaja had let nothing be heard of him."

[129] From a letter from the Governor-General and Council at Batavia, dated 9th July, 1645, printed by W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, Bijl., XXX., we learn (p. 76) that Maatzuyker, before leaving Negombo on 15th February for Colombo and Galle, sent Rája Siṉha two letters, one in his own name and one in the name of the Council, informing him of the Dutch-Portuguese agreement, and asking him to kindly signify if he would also embrace (*amplecteren*) it, or not; to which Maatzuyker received a reply when at Galle, serving little to the purpose. This reply is evidently the one here translated.

[130] In orig. *V. M.* (contraction for *vossa mercê*, the ordinary polite form of address in Portuguese), which is used generally throughout this correspondence. I have rendered it in various ways, according to circumstances.

[131] Regarding Maatzuyker, see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, I., pp. 166–168.

[132] In orig. *V. Ms.* (plur.).

[133] This word is used here and elsewhere for disávanis (see note 102 *supra*).

[134] For details of the partition of territories between the Portuguese and the Dutch see Baldæus, *Mal. en Chor.*, chap. XV., and Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1644–45, pp. 292–297, in both of which several of the names of kóralés, pattus, &c., are very incorrectly printed. As regards the places mentioned by Rája Siṇha (many of which are mispelt in the Dutch translation), "Uracápatú" = Uḍakahapattu, "Mendapatu" = Mẹdapatu, "Catugambala" = Kaṭugampola, "Andapanduna" = Handapánduna (see Bell's *Rep. on Kégalla Dist.*, p. 2), "Guindigora" = Kinigoḍa, "Parnacurú" = Paranakúru, "Galbara" = Galboḍa. The "river of Gurugora" is the Gurugoḍa-oya. The "*garaveto* (gravet, *kaḍavata*) of Puápeti" is, I think, Bulatkohópiṭiya in Páta Bulatgama, *bulat* having taken the place of *puwak* in the name (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., p. 148, where "*Buare-Birge*" is a misprint in the English trans. for "*Buac-Bitge*," *i.e.* Puwakpitiya).

[135] Jan Mathijssen or Thijssen (see letters of 23rd March and 4th April, 1644, *supra*).

[136] *Bangasais* (see Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* "Bankshall").

[137] *Saguate*, an Indo-Portuguese word from Persian *saughat* (see Monsr. S. R. Dalgado's *Dialecto Indo-Português de Damoa*, p. 30). In the public library at Evora is a manuscript, dated Goa, Jan. 1774, entitled "Certidoes sobre a Saogate (presente), que El Rey de Candea mandava a El Rey de Portugal pelo Padre Joao de Silveira, de Congregaçao do Oratorio, e Missionario na Ilha de Ceilão."

[138] This encomium did not deter Thijssen from shortly afterwards declaring war against the writer.

[139] The Dutch translation has "Jegenwoordigh neit anders dan Gode bevolen," *i.e.*, "At present nothing further than commended to God."

[140] Printed in Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1644-45, pp. 301, 302.

[141] Don Filippe Mascarenhas, the Captain-General of Ceylon, left Colombo for Goa March 31, 1645, to succeed the Conde de Avciras as Viceroy of India (see Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVI.; Bat *Dagh-Reg.* for 1644–45, p. 307).

[142] The Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1644–45 says (p. 307) that "from the letters written by the merchant Laurens Maerschalck in February, March, and April past [1645] from Batacaloa to the Governor Joan Thyssen it was understood that since the contract arranged with the Portuguese the Sinhalese had not supplied him with the least *maintimentos* either for money or otherwise, but had tried to consume him with hunger, which, if he had not had something in store, would consequently have followed; and they are also not ashamed to say impudently right out that we and the Portuguese have divided the Island of Ceylon half and half. Moreover two *bedes* [Veddas], who had supplied the Company there secretly with wax, had 20 to 25 days before been done to death by order of the Radja ....Reports were current daily that ambassadors with letters, a parcel of wax, and other goods from Radja were on the way, which was doubted, wherefore Maerschalck would wait for the arrival of the yacht *Santvoort*,

ship all therein, and so set sail for Paliacatta." As a matter of fact, the ambassadors never were sent.

[143] Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XII. (Eng. trans., chap. XLIII.) ; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 121, 143 ; Saar, in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 269, 270 ; W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–145, and Bijl., XXXI. and XXXIV. ; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1644–45, p. 311.

[144] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 145, and Bijl., XXXIX. For details of events in Ceylon subsequent to Thijssen's declaration of war see Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1644–45, pp. 310 *et seq.*

[145] See Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 121 ; C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 36, 37.

[146] Overschie, however, was not dismissed, but continued as Commandeur of Negombo until 1649, when he left Ceylon for the Coromandel Coast (see J. von der Behr in *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 107 *et passim*). He had been sent to Negombo in 1644 from Persia, where he had been in charge of the Dutch factory at Ispahan for several years : his removal being due to the fact that while drunk he had involved the Company in a dispute with the Persian king (see Valentyn, *Persien*, pp. 233, 234, 245 ; Georg Andriesz, *Reisbeschrijving*, p. 64). There are still descendants of his in Negombo. As for Thijssen, he was acquitted by the Council at Batavia after an inquiry, and was sent to Malacca as Governor (see W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 147 *n*, and Bijl., p. 98).

[147] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[148] *Saguates* (see note [137] above).

[149] This was probably the letter sent by Maatzuyker in the name of the Governor-General and Council just before his departure from Negombo (see note [129] *supra*).

[150] See Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 121 ; C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 371 ; also the royal letter of 11th June, 1646, *infra*.

[151] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[152] On 7th May (see next letter).

[153] Doubtless Maatzuyker.

[154] *Voce* (for *vosse*), a vulgarism for *vossa mercê*. It is used throughout this letter.

[155] So the name apparently reads ; and the person intended is the "Lieutenant Julius Schifferts," mentioned in the C.A.S. Jl., XVII., pp. 473, 478. In the Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1644–45, pp. 274, 275, the name is more correctly given as "Schilflij, Schiffelij," and it is stated that this man, a Swiss, had recently been made a captain, and, through the death of Vinckeboons, had on 26 August, 1644, assumed command of Negombo. Jürgen Andersen, in the account referred to in the note below, speaks of a "Captain Schwijts" as being in command of the garrison that capitulated to the King of Kandy.

[156] See Valentyn, *Mauritius*, p. 154 ; Johann von der Behr, in *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 98 ; Jürgen Andersen, in *Reisbeschrijving van Georg Andriesz*, p. 70.

[157] Three accounts, differing in details, of these disasters are given us by J. von der Behr (*Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 99), Jürgen Andersen (*op. cit.* pp. 70–72), and J. J. Saar (C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 270–274). The only official account as yet available in print is the very brief one in W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, Bijl., XXXIX, pp. 98, 99. In this the location of the besieged Dutch garrison is called "Panare" (see also Rája Siṇha's letter below), while Andersen terms it "Hegerri" (adding the erroneous statement that it was "twelve miles from Punto de Gallo"), and J. von der Behr says it was at "Dobtre" (*i.e.*, Tópputurai). It was evidently at Pannáré in the Pitigal Kóralé of the Kaṭugampola Hatpattu.

[158] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[159] Máningala in Mẹda Paláta of Piṭigal Kóralé South.

[160] Adriaan van der Stel.

[161] Paluwẹlgala, on a branch of the Lunu-oya in Mẹda Paláta, Piṭigal Kóralé South.

[162] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 122 ; C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 37. (See also Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVI.)

[163] Ribeiro (lib. II., cap. XVI.) says that the King asked and obtained leave from the Portuguese to pass through their territory to attack the Dutch, and that he told the latter that they could judge from this what little faith was to be put in the Portuguese.

[164] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 122 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 38).

[165] See note [163].

[166] This is the original letter No. 4 translated above.

[167] This is No. 1 of the original letters translated above.

[168] See W. van Geer, *op. cit.*, p. 151; N. G. van Kampen, *De Nederlanders buiten Europa*, II., pp. 40–47.

[169] See *supra*.

[170] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[171] Neither of these letters is forthcoming ; and, strangely enough, they are not mentioned by either Valentyn or the *Beknopte Historie* (C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 39). The second one is referred to again by Rája Siṇha in his letter of 11th June, *infra*.

[172] Tam̆baráwila on the north bank of the Maha-oya, opposite to Tóppu.

[173] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[174] This is the letter mentioned by Rája Siṇha in his previous communication.

[175] This seems to refer to Maatzuyker's letter of 31st May given above. The letter that Rája Siṉha says he wrote on 20th May to Maatzuyker appears not to have reached the latter, or to have been for some reason ignored by him.

[176] This is referred to in Maatzuyker's reply of 21st June below. In view of this letter it is strange that W. van Geer twice states (*op. cit.*, pp. 146, 147, 151) that to Maatzuyker's numerous letters the King vouchsafed no reply. He seems to have misapprehended the meaning of a passage in the letter of the Governor-General and Council printed on p. 99 of the *Bijlagen.*

[177] See *supra.*

[178] *Cf.* Saar (C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 274).

[179] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 123 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 39).

[180] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 124 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 40).

[181] Regarding these, and also the correspondence between Maatzuyker and Rája Siṉha, see Saar in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 274–276, and Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVI.

[182] Kammala, a little to the north of Tam̃baráwila (see note 82).

[183] See Rája Siṉha's letter of 27th June, 1649, *infra.*

[184] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 124 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 41).

[185] Laurens Maarshalk was an uppermerchant (*opperkoopman*) in Amboina when the massacre of 1623 took place, and was probably reduced for his share in the bloody business. He was merchant (*koopman*) at Batticaloa from 1639 to 1644 (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., pp. 100, 375, 415, and note [142] *supra*). Regarding his mission to Kandy, see below, and also Saar in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 277–279).

[186] Not forthcoming.

[187] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 124 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 41).

[188] J. von der Behr (*Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 100) says that on 12th April, 1647, a report reached Negombo from Colombo that the King was dead. Rája Siṉha appears to have been subject to attacks of fever (see his letters of 21st June and 21st July, 1660, *infra*).

[189] Saar (C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 278) says that Maarschalk left Galle for Kandy on 1st April; but see Maatzuyker's letter of 10th September, *infra.*

[190] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 125 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 42).

[191] Not forthcoming.

[192] Translated from Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 125 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 42).

[193] *Sic* for August.

[194] *Cf.* Saar (C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 279).

[195] See note [168].

[196] The ships *Banda*, *Lello*, and *Akersloot* arrived from Batavia at Galle on 4th October (see Saar in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 237, 238, and J. von der Behr in *Cey. Lit. Reg.* VI., p. 107).

[197] *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 107.

[198] C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 43.

[199] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 125 ; also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 43 (see also Saar in C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 279).

[200] Maatzuyker had returned to Negombo shortly before from an expedition on the Malabar coast (see J. von der Behr, *Reise-Beschreibung*, pp. 105–109, and *Cey Lit. Reg.*, VI., pp. 115, 123).

[201] Valentyn, *loc. cit.*

[202] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 125 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 43).

[203] Not forthcoming.

[204] He left Negombo next day for Galle (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 123).

[205] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 126 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 44).

[206] Not forthcoming.

[207] Valentyn, *loc. cit.* (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 44).

[208] Letter not forthcoming.

[209] Valentyn (followed by the *Beknopte Historie*) has 7th July ; but see Rája Siṇha's letter of 27th June, *infra.*

[210] Valentyn, *u.s.* (see also *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 123).

[211] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 127 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 45); see also *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 123.

[212] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[213] These were the elephants seized by Nicholas Overschie in 1645, which, it appears from this, had never been returned to the King, though Maatzuyker in one of his earliest letters to Rája Siṇha (see *supra*) had promised that they should be.

[214] I do not know who this Portuguese captive was.

[215] Part of manuscript torn off.

[216] Perhaps Nicolaus Loenius referred to in Maatzuyker's letter of 11th September, 1646, *supra.*

[217] By the 7th article of the provisional agreement signed at Goa on 10 Nov., 1644, the services of the Chaliyas were to be available to both parties.

[218] Galloluwa in the Negombo District.

[219] I cannot identify this person.

[220] Maarschalk sailed at the end of July, 1649, for Batavia, where doubtless his services were duly recognized by the Council.

[221] Ingurugala? (I cannot identify this place.)

[222] The royal sign manual is in red : the only instance in this series of letters.

[223] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 127 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 45).

[224] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 124.

[225] J. von der Behr calls him Camholtz, and states that he arrived at Negombo on 7th March, 1647, to take command of the soldiers there. He mentions him several times afterwards (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 100 *et cet.*).

[226] J. von der Behr mentions his illness in June, 1648, and records his death on 24th August, 1649 (*Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., pp. 114, 124).

[227] Captain Burckard Koch, from Wesel, according to Saar, who relates a curious story in connection with his embassy (see C.A.S. Jl. XI., pp. 279–281). J. von der Behr refers to him often (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 99 *et cet.*). His name appears in various forms—Burgard Cox, Burchard Kok, Burchart Cockx, &c. See the reference to him in Rája Siṉha's letter of 21st May, 1656, further on. See also C.A.S. Jl., XV., p. 267 and plate 103, and XVII., pp. 331, 508, 528.

[228] The *Beknopte Historie* says that Maatzuyker wrote at the end of July to Batavia that, although the treaty which he had signed with the King differed but slightly from that of 1638, no trust could be placed in Rája Siṉha, who would never abandon his treacherous machinations, and therefore could only be brought to reason by force (see C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 46).

[229] These arrived at Galle on 29th August in charge of Michael Spitz, a German, who had left on 15th June with the horse and saddle and a talking parrot (*Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., pp. 123, 125).

[230] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 127.

[231] He had left Galle for Kandy by way of Mátara on 13th August (*Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 124).

[232] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 127 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 46).

[233] See the reference to him in Rája Siṉha's letter of 21st May, 1656, *infra*.

[234] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 127 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 46).

[235] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 128–135 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 46, 47).

[236] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 135 (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 48). Regarding the sick prisoners, see Saar in C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 281.

[237] The English translator of Baldæus, thinking apparently that this man was a Hollander, dubs him "Mr." Rampot (Baldæus, *Ceylon*, Eng. trans., chap. XLIII.).

[238] Valentyn, *u. s.* (see also p. 143). The *Beknopte Historie*, instead of following Valentyn, in this case says that the Governor wrote "complaining strongly regarding the Adigaar Rampot, whom he considered as the cause of the displeasure that H.M., according to the communication of our commissary, conceived shortly before the departure of Mr. Maetsuycker, and which had given rise to such contemptuous expressions as have already been referred to above. This Rampot having been a very harmful and dangerous subject, who in A°. 1650, on his arrival as ambassador and having been appointed by the king as dessave of Mature, had used many sinister tricks to deprive the Hon. Company of the lands; however neither lands nor rule were conceded to him, but he was made weary of his designs by means of tergiversations,

subterfuges, and courtesies." (The translation of this passage in the C A.S. Jl., XI., p. 48, is faulty.) What the object of the compiler Limberger was in substituting the above for a summary of the Governor's letter, I cannot tell. With regard to Rampot's doings, see Rája Siṇha's letter of 3rd May, 1650, *infra.*

[239] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[240] Here and in other places *dissava* is used, with the feminine article or pronoun, in the sense of *disávani.*

[241] Valentyn, *u. s.*

[242] Kittenstein in his report to the Council at Batavia, dated 20th September, 1660, says that, as a result of Maatzuyker's diplomatic management at the beginning of 1650, Rampot left the Galle and Mátara districts at his own request ; and that the King was much annoyed thereat (Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 143 ; see also Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XLII.).

[243] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 135.

[244] *Scarlet* was originally the name of a stuff, and not of a colour (see Skeat's Etym. Dict., Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, and Pringle's *Consultations of.........Fort St. George*, 1681, note 77).

[245] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 136.

[246] See Rája Siṇha's letter of 10th August *infra.* Has was still a captive in Kandy in 1671 (see references to him in my *Captain Robert Knox*, and *cf.* Rája Siṇha's letter of 4th May, 1656, *infra*).

[247] Joris or George (not Juriaan) Bloem or Blom is referred to frequently in the next few years as interpreter between the Dutch and the King.

[248] Rája Siṇha understood Portuguese well (see Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 176), and had a strong objection to receiving letters in Dutch, unless a translation into Portuguese accompanied them (*cf.* his letters of 21st May and 13th June, 1656, *infra*).

[249] Valentyn, *u. s.*

[250] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[251] Whence this letter was written does not appear.

[252] *Sic*, Frans Has being referred to (see *supra*).

[253] See heading of list of presents, dated 19th September, 1652, *infra ;* and *cf.* Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 38, and the remarks of R. van Goens quoted in footnote on p. 13 of my *Captain Robert Knox. Cf.* also the papers by Stark and Alwis in the C.A.S. Jl., 1853–55 and 1856–58.

[254] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, VI., p. 98 ; C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 278 ; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 178, 201.

[255] Valentyn, *u. s.* (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 49).

[256] Translated from the original letter (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[257] This can hardly be the letter of 15th November summarized above.

[258] Rája Siṇha's birthplace (*cf. Mahávaṇsa*, XCV.; Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 5). It will be noticed that several of the letters in this series were written at Binteṇna.

[259] I find no reference elsewhere to this matter.

[260] Valentyn, *u. s.* The compiler of the *Beknopte Historie* passes over this and all subsequent letters down to that of Kittenstein of 15th January, 1653, as "not of sufficient importance to deserve mention" (see C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 49).

[261] Valentyn, *u. s.*

[262] According to Tennent, *Ceylon*, II., p. 48, footnote, whence I quote the extract given. Tennent says: "I have a curious MS. letter written by him in Portuguese from Badulla, 6th August, 1652, and addressed *To the Governor Jacob Von* [sic] *Kittenstein, residing in my Fortress of Galle as my loyal vassal.*" How this letter, which evidently ought to be in the Ceylon Record Office, came to be in Tennent's possession, we can only surmise. The manner in which the Dutch records have been preserved (!) is a scandal to Ceylon.

[263] It will be seen from subsequent documents that the Dutch did their best to gratify the King's wishes (*cf.* also the note in Tennent referred to above).

[264] In his letter of 11th May, 1656, to the citizens of Colombo (given below) Rája Siṇha speaks of this man as having come as ambassador to his court. Who he was I do not know (possibly a descendant or connection of the infamous General of Ceylon and Viceroy of India of the same name). Nor can I find any other reference to his mission, the Portuguese authorities being very defective as regards Ceylon at this period (*cf.* Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVII., where only a page is devoted to the six and a half years, May, 1646, to October, 1652). He may, however, have been the bearer of the letter to Rája Siṇha from the King of Portugal (dated 15th March, 1652) printed in the C.A.S. Jl., XVI., p. 34. Ribeiro states (*loc. cit.*) that in September, 1652, advice was received in Colombo from the new Viceroy that the truce had terminated, and that war with the Dutch would be resumed: it seems likely, therefore, that the same dispatch boat that brought these tidings carried the envoy to the Kandyan court. He is referred to again in Kittenstein's letter of 26th October, *infra.*

[265] See Ribeiro, lib. I., cap. X.

[266] Valentyn, *u.s.*

[267] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[268] See Yule's *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. "Mangelin," where the following is quoted from A. Nunez (1545): "(In Ceylon) A *calamja* contains 20 *mamgelins*, each *mamgelin* 8 grains of rice; a Portugues of gold weighs 8 *calamjas* and 2 *mangelins*."

[269] Joris Blom, doubtless.

[270] Knox gives some interesting details regarding this good man, whom he calls "Padre Vergonce" or "Vergonse" (*Hist. Rel.*, pp. 188–189).

[271] In orig. *feitoria*, literally "factory."

[272] This is the date given by Valentyn ; but as the letter doubtless accompanied the presents, the list of which is dated 19th September, the figure 5 may be an error. The *Beknopte Historie*, after summarising the contents of Van Kittenstein's letter of 15th November, 1651, says : "Afterwards letters were again sent to the Candian court and received thence, but of no importance, and therefore also unnecessary to detail anything of them here." The summary is resumed with Van Kittenstein's letter of 15th January, 1653 (see C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 49).

[273] Possibly the one presented to the King by Father Bergoncio.

[274] See note [14] *supra*. The tenor of the letter from Vijayapála we are left to guess ; but we may infer somewhat of the contents from what is told us further on.

[275] See Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVII. ; Baldæus, *Ceylon*, cap. XLII. (XLIII. of Eng. trans.) ; Saar, in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 282, 283.

[276] See *supra*, note [168].

[277] See note [264], *supra*.

[278] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 137.

[279] Valentyn, *loc. cit.* See Ribeiro, cap. II., lib. XVII., regarding encounters between Rája Siṇha's troops and the Portuguese mutineers of the Meṇikkaḍawara camp.

[280] A letter written on 4th February, 1653, by the King of Portugal to the Viceroy of India refers to the "Emperor of Candea" (meaning evidently Vijayapála), who was a pensioner in Goa, and who, the king says, was not to be allowed to come to Portugal or to go to Ceylon, nor were the Dutch to be allowed to get hold of him for their purposes.

[281] This was the yacht *Jaffnapatnam* (see trans. of Batavia *Dagh-Register* for 1653 in *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 432).

[282] Valentyn, *u.s.*

[283] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[284] This may have been Major Adriaan van der Meyden (see note [291] *infra*).

[285] *Ceylon*, p. 137.

[286] For details see Saar's and Ribeiro's accounts, in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 285, 286 ; and Baldæus, *Ceylon*, cap. XLII. (XLIII. of Eng. trans.).

[287] Ribeiro states (lib. II., cap. XVII.) that the battle took place not at Catagoré (Kotuwágoḍa), but at Thiara (Tiháriya).

[288] *Loc. cit.*

[289] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 432.

[290] *Ceylon*, p. 138.

[291] It was not until October that Van der Meyden succeeded to the Governorship (see *infra*). At this time he was a Major commanding at Kalutara.

[292] This is the engagement at Tiháriya referred to above. What the encounter near Maṇṇár was, I do not know.

[293] What this present was, does not appear.

[294] Called in Ryklof van Goens's *Memorie* of 26th December, 1663 (Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 164), *Ragganada Cotta Teuvre* (read *Teuver*).

[295] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 138.

[296] Valentyn, *loc. cit.* (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 49).

[297] See note [264], *supra*.

[298] Valentyn, *loc. cit.* (also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 50).

[299] For details see Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVII.

[300] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 138, 144 ; Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XLII. (XLIII. of Eng. trans.).

[301] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 138.

[302] He arrived there on 4th December in a weak state of health, and died at 1 A.M. on 26th December, being buried at 4 P.M. next day with all the honours due to his rank (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 432).

[303] The three English vessels captured were the East India Co.'s ships *Roebuck*, *Lanneret*, and *Blessing ;* while another, the *Supply*, was driven ashore and totally lost (see Beckler Willson's *Ledger and Sword*, vol. I., p. 261). The Bat. *Dagh-Reg.* for 1653 (pp. 117, 150, 155, 165) mentions the capture, and states that the *Roebuck* was re-named *Utrecht*, the *Blessing* was called the *Avontsterre*, while the *Supply* (*sic*, but perhaps the *Lanneret* is intended) received the new name of *Josques*.

[304] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 138, 139 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 50).

[305] Karavanẹlla.

[306] Gurubẹvila (Haṇwella), Kanattoṭa, Aṭṭápiṭiya, Koṭuwágoda.

[307] This word occurs frequently in Dutch documents of this period: it seems to be the Portuguese *estancia*, a camp—hence a body of soldiers.

[308] See Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVIII.

[309] See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 432.

[310] The *Windhond*, *Rhinocer*, and *Drommedaris* (see Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 139, 145 ; and Baldæus, *Ceylon*, *loc. cit.*).

[311] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 139. (The compiler of the *Beknopte Historie* passes over this and subsequent letters down to October, 1655.)

[312] Valentyn, *op. cit.*, p. 144 (see also Baldæus, *loc. cit.*).

[313] The Dutch is "*om laag gebragt.*" This expression the German version of Baldæus (*Ceylon*, chap. XLIII.) renders by the word *verderbt* (weakened, decayed, or deprived) ; and the English translator turns this into "tatter'd" !

[314] For details see Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XVIII. ; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 139, 144; Baldæus, *Ceylon*, *u.s.*

[315] See Valentyn and Baldæus, *u.s.;* Saar (who was one of the prisoners), chap. II. *Cf.* also Danvers's *Portuguese in India*, vol. II., pp. 307, 308, where a different account is given, from the official records at Evora.

[316] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 139.

[317] For details see Ribeiro, lib. II., caps. XVIII., XIX.; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 145, 139; Baldæus, *loc. cit.* The *Rájávaliya* (Eng. trans., p. 102) speaks of *two* engagements, at "Kaluwella" and "Lunumódara."

[318] See note [373], *infra.*

[319] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 139.

[320] See Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XIX.; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 145; Baldæus, *loc. cit.*

[321] Valentyn, *u.s.*

[322] Ribeiro (lib. II., cap. XX.) is the only writer who gives an account of this attack on Kalutara.

[323] Governor Van der Meyden, as quoted by Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 145, says that on 5th April the King's greatest force was defeated by Gaspar Figueira near Attapittin [Aṭṭápiṭiya] and Cottacapale's palaces." I am not sure of the identity of "Caticapale" or "Cottacapale"; but some place not far from Moṭṭáppoliya in Kinigoḍa Kóralé is meant; for Ribeiro, who gives a graphic description (lib. II., caps. XIX.–XX.) of this event, says that after his victory Gaspar Figueira retired to "a village called Motapali;" while Knox (*Hist. Rel.*, p. 177), who also recounts the action, says that "Cotacoppul" was some ten or twelve miles from "Motanpul."

[324] A falsehood.

[325] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 139, 140.

[326] Gintara or Gintoṭa, not Gandara.

[327] See Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XX.; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 145, 146; Baldæus, *u.s.* The engagement took place on 18th May.

[328] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 140.

[329] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[330] Ribeiro, whose dates cannot be relied on, says (*u.s.*) that from Jaffna Antonio de Sousa Coutinho sent word to Colombo that he would be at Arippu on 15th June. On that day accordingly he was met there by the Captain-Major Antonio Mendes d'Aranha, with four companies of soldiers, and escorted to Colombo, where he arrived a few days later.

[331] Kóraléwila in Demala Hatpattu, Puttalam District.

[332] This territory is now reduced to the Anavilundan Pattu of the Piṭigal Kóralé, Chilaw District.

[333] Referring doubtless to the disastrous results of his encounters with the Portuguese under Gaspar Figueira.

[334] The writer of this letter had read his Camœns to some purpose, evidently!

335 Truly: but, as stated above, he never left the court at all.

336 In September probably, but I cannot discover the exact date. Hulft left Batavia for Ceylon on 9th July (Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 413).

337 For details see Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XXIII. (Eng. trans.); Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XXI.

338 Baldæus, *loc. cit.*

339 See Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XXIV. (Eng. trans.); Ribeiro, lib. II., cap. XXII.; C.A.S. Jl., X., pp. 165–167.

340 Regarding this man, see Rája Sinha's letter of 4th May, 1656, *infra*.

341 Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XXV. (Eng. trans.).

342 For details of the siege see Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chaps. XXV.-XXXIX. (Eng. trans.) and the Portuguese account added; C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 295 *et seq.*, XII., p. 81 *et seq.*

343 Some of the letters in the Ceylon Record Office have slight attempts at ornamentation; but nothing so elaborate as here described.

344 I can find no record elsewhere of this letter.

345 Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XXIV. (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 50);

346 *U. s.* (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 50.

347 The same individual who, as Disáva of the Seven Kóralés, in 1675 gave such trouble to the Dutch, and then came over to them (see C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 70, 71; *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., pp. 115, 116; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p.p. 260, 267; Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 39).

348 *Sic* for *Rajou.*

349 For details see the authorities cited in note [342], *supra*; also Danvers' *Port. in India*, II., p. 309. *Cf. Rájávaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 103.

350 *Ceylon*, chap. XXVI.

351 *U.s.* (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 51).

352 Saar, on the other hand, says (C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 297, 298: "When our great loss became known to the King of Candia, to whom our General had not sent previous notice that he was going to storm, he was very angry, and wrote to him to say that, according to the treaty, Colombo, if it had been taken, would have been half his. The General ought, therefore, to have communicated with him, and to have allowed his soldiers to take part in the assault. This difficult undertaking ought not to have been attempted single-handed, but jointly. When our General noticed the King's temper, and being aware that he had made a mistake, he resolved to at once send an ambassador to the King, with assurances of great respect and his apologies, and also with a certain promise to take the place; but the King must have a little patience." This version of the correspondence is evidently founded on mere camp gossip; and we may take it that Baldæus has given us a fair representation of the contents of the letters, the originals or copies of which he evidently had before him when he wrote his book.

353 Baldæus, *Ceylon*, chap. XXVII.

354 *U.s.* (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 51).

355 *Ceylon*, chap. XXVIII. (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 51).

356 Saar (C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 298) says: "On the 25th of January [*sic*] Captain Johan Hartmann, of Cassel in Hesse, volunteered to go to the Emperor with every mark of respect. The Emperor would not receive him until the third day, and then he summoned him to offer his presents, which were very graciously accepted. As the Emperor was very anxious about Colombo he did not keep our Captain very long, gave him a gold chain and an elephant, and very soon sent him off again to our General with other presents, in return, many jewels and two elephants for the Company."

357 Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office (see also summary in Baldæus, *loc. cit.*).

358 Saar (*u.s.*) says: "On the 2nd of February [*sic*] the said Captain returned with a letter to our General and the Company, stating that it would be well not to attempt in future a hazardous undertaking without his (the King's) knowledge, as he was very sorry to see so many good soldiers needlessly sacrificed by us." Baldæus says: "The Lieutenant was presented by the Emperor with a gold chain and a ring. The Emperor had also previously learnt through his Dissaves that one of our mines had been sprung, and that it had killed many of our men, but was now happy at hearing the contrary."

359 Manuscript torn.

360 Baldæus, *op. cit.*, chap. XXIX. (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 51).

361 I have found no other reference to this engagement, which took place evidently after the disastrous defeat of Constantino de Sá in Uva (*cf.* Rája Siṇha's letter of 9th September, 1636, *supra*).

362 The famous Disáva of the Four Kóralés, whose exploits are recorded by Bocarro and Faria y Sousa (see also *Rebelion de Ceylan*, in C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 602, 603). His garden referred to here was apparently at Nákolagama (*cf.* Lee's *Ribeyro*, p. 88).

363 Orig. "*onderkoning*,"= lit. "under-king." Who this *uparája* was is not very clear; perhaps the "Mara Tana Wandaar" (? Maratenné Baňdára) spoken of in Rája Siṇha's letter of 9th Sept., 1636, *supra*.

364 A misreading or misprint for *Coumara*.

365 Compare the foregoing with what Rája Siṇha says in his letter of 9th September, 1636, *supra*.

366 *Cf.* *Rájávaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 101.

367 I can find no record of this letter.

368 In Guṇasékara's edition of the *Rájávaliya* (Eng. trans., pp. 88, 94, 96, 102) the name is spelt "Raggahawatta." Valentyn (*Ceylon*, p. 26) locates Reygamwatte *south* of the "Colombo" (Kẹlani) river, in the district of Malvána; but in his map it is shown *north* of the river, between "Emboelgam" and "Nagam." Baldæus's map also places it north of the Kẹlani, a little to the west of Malvána. I am uncertain as to the exact position of the place; but that it lay to the north of the Kẹlani river is evident from what Rája Siṇha says in his

letter of 17th March, 1656 (see *infra*), and from the description in Baldæus (chap. XXXIV.) of Hulft's visit to the King.

[369] Giráiṁbula, in Udugaha Pattu, Héwágam Kóralé (*cf. Rájávaliya*, Eng. trans., pp. 78, 96, 97).

[370] *Ceylon*, chap. XXIX.

[371] He seems (though Baldæus does not say so) to have left the Dutch camp on 8th February with another letter from Hulft to Rája Sinha, whose reply he now brought.

[372] Baldæus punctuates thus ; but I think that there should be a full stop here, "From" beginning a new sentence, and a comma taking the place of the full stop after "Empire" (*cf.* letter of 20th January, *supra*).

[373] See *supra*. If Knox's estimate (*Hist. Rel.*, pp. 46, 58) of the prince's age be correct, he was at this time five or six years old.

[374] For the explanation of this ambiguous message see the statement of Baldæus that follows.

[375] Weliwiṭa in Pallé Pattuwa, Héwágam Kóralé.

[376] Baldæus (*op. cit.*, p. 92) describes him as "a native of the Hague, a brave and clever man with the rapier as well as the pen, from whom the Hon. Company has had the benefit of many services and still has, he being Director and Governor of Merchandise in Persia." (*Cf.* note [438], *infra.*)

[377] Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[378] See translations in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93.

[379] For a full summary see Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 94 ; and for a briefer one see C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 51, 52.

[380] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

[381] Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

[382] Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[383] *Op. cit.*, pp. 104–107. There is also a large two-page plate giving an entirely imaginary and utterly ridiculous representation of Hulft's reception.

[384] Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 108 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 149).

[385] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[386] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 111 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 54).

[387] See Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 112, 123.

[388] Who had been imprisoned in Colombo for being implicated in Don Braz de Castro's revolt against the former Viceroy, the Conde de Obidos (see Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 109, 123).

[389] This was done : see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, II., p. 118.

[390] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 113 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 54).

[391] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

[392] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[393] See note [246], *supra.*

[394] Baldæus states that Hervendonk was suspected of poisoning the King's mind against Has, and of thus causing the latter to be kept a

prisoner in Kandy. He also adds that these unpleasantnesses so annoyed Rája Sinha that for two or three days he was angry with all his courtiers.

[395] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office. Baldæus also gives a translation (*op. cit.*, p. 120). From a comparison of my translation with that of Baldæus it will be seen that the latter has taken considerable liberties with the original.

[396] Altered from "service."

[397] See Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 118, 226.

[398] See Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 121, 226, 229; C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 300–302; XII., pp. 97, 98.

[399] See Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–126, 229; C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 303, 304; XII., pp. 98, 99.

[400] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[401] See *supra.*

[402] The three deputies were Lourenço Ferreira de Brito, Diogo Leitão de Sousa, and Hieronymo de Lucena.

[403] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[404] See note [264] *supra.*

[405] See *supra* regarding Joris Blom, the official interpreter.

[406] Given in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 132 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 56).

[407] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office. It is referred to by Baldæus (*op. cit.*, p. 133).

[408] See Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 133; C.A.S. Jl., XII., p. 103.

[409] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office (*cf.* also translation in Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 134, and see C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 56, 57).

[410] Or Captain Bogey (° *Capitaõ Coquo*). Regarding Captain Burkard Koch, see note [227] *supra.* Baldæus inserts here, in parentheses, "afterwards wounded and killed by a soldier at Punte Gale."

[411] See *supra.*

[412] This was Rampot: see *supra.*

[413] *Op. cit.*, p. 134 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 57).

[414] *Cf.* C.A.S. Jl. XII., pp. 102, 103. Rája Sinha seems to have claimed Gaspar Figueira as a "rebel" on account of his being the son of a Sinhalese mother.

[415] According to Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 135 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 57).

[416] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[417] That is, Van der Meyden (see superscriptions of previous letters).

[418] This was actually done by the Dutch shortly afterwards.

[419] Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 135–137 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 57–59).

[420] According to Baldæus (*op. cit.*, p. 137), who does not mention the date of the communication (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 59).

[421] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office (see also Baldæus, *op. cit.*, p. 138 ; and C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 60).

[422] A litter (see *Hobson–Jobson, s.v.*).

[423] Baldæus, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 139 (see also C.A.S. Jl., XI., pp. 60, 61).

[424] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[425] In 1563 and 1587–88.

[426] Original manuscript torn.

[427] Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 146.

[428] Valentyn, *loc. cit.*

[429] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[430] Ryklof van Goens arrived at Columbo on 3rd November, 1658, from the Coromandel Coast, after various conquests there (Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 147).

[431] I can find no reference elsewhere to the plots alluded to by the king.

[432] See Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 80.

[433] *Cf.* Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 39.

[434] See regarding this man, footnotes on pp. 21 and 58 of my *Captain Robert Knox* ; and *cf.* Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, pp. 180, 181.

[435] See my *Captain Robert Knox*, p. 5, note.

[436] See, however, C.A.S. Jl., IX., p. 62.

[437] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[438] Adriaan Roodhaas succeeded Ysbrand Godsken in this post in 1661 (see *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., p. 291).

[439] *Cf.* Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 41.

[440] This is apparently Bibilé in the Uva Province ; but I can find no mention of a royal residence there. Rája Siṇha had doubtless gone to Bibilé for a course of baths in the hot ferruginous springs from which the place derives its name. Knox (who had just entered upon his long captivity when this letter was written) does not refer to the place. (*Cf.* next letter.)

[441] Frans van den Berg, doubtless (see *supra*, and *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., pp. 286, 292).

[442] The signature of this and the next letter (both of which are very carelessly written), it will be seen, differs from that in previous letters.

[443] Translated from the original (in Portuguese) in the Ceylon Record Office.

[444] See Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, pp. 5, 58.

[445] The orig. has *terras*, an evident error for *serras*.

[446] *Peraharas* (see Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, p. 78).

[447] According to Knox (*Hist. Rel.*, p. 5), the King never again returned to Kandy, which thereupon fell to decay.

448 See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., p. 285.

449 See *Cey. Lit. Reg.*, IV., pp. 292, 293 ; C.A.S. Jl., IX., p. 62 ; *Captain Robert Knox*, p. 13 *n* ; Bat. *Dagh-Reg.*, 1663, pp. 130, 329, 412, 580 ; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, 182.

450 See Knox, *Hist. Rel.*, pp. 58-60 ; C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 63 ; *Captain Robert Knox*, pp. 15, 59, 60 ; Valentyn, *Ceylon*, p. 249.

451 According to Valentyn, *Ceylon*, pp. 303, 343 (see also C.A.S. Jl., X., p. 149). The *Rájávaliya* incorrectly says that Rája Sinha "died at the expiration of the year 1614 of the Saka era," *i.e.*, 1614 + 78 = 1692 A.D.

452 See C.A.S. Jl., XI., p. 63 *et seq.* (See also the Bat. *Dagh-Registers*, and Valentyn, *Ceylon*, *passim*).

Discussion being invited by the Chairman, Mr. C. M. FERNANDO said that it was an interesting point that the Paper contained letters written by a Sinhalese king in the Portuguese language.

The CHAIRMAN : I know I have written letters in the Maldivian language in the sense that I only signed them, so that does not show you have a knowledge of the language.

Mr. FERNANDO said that Don Juan Dharmapala, the first Christian King of Ceylon, gave over his Crown to the King of Portugal, and made Portuguese the Court language.

Mr. R. G. ANTHONISZ said that he believed Knox mentioned that Raja Sinha knew Portuguese and objected to Dutch being used. There were some Dutch records which brought that history up to the date of Rája Sinha's death which appeared to have been removed from the Record Office.*

The CHAIRMAN : Is that so? This is the first time I hear of it. I feel grateful for my attention being drawn to it and will inquire into it.

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* H. WHITE, Esq., to the HONORARY SECRETARY, Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Colombo, May 24, 1904.

DEAR SIR,—WITH reference to the discussion at the last Meeting as to Rája Sinha's knowledge of Portuguese the following quotation from letter 22, page 77, of Mr. Donald Ferguson's Paper shows that the king knew Portuguese very well.

The king writes thus to Governor Van der Meyden : "The letter that your honour sent to this Imperial Court has been given to be translated into the Portuguese language ; and when it is translated, after it has been read in my imperial presence, conformably thereto I shall send you the answer." Also the following passage from Knox, Part IV., ch. IV.: "There was much other discourse between the King and him (Mr. Vassal) at this time in the Portuguese tongue."

Yours faithfully,

H. WHITE.

Mr. W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA said that the Paper with its notes formed one of the most valuable contributions hitherto made to Ceylon history. He would like to suggest corrections on one or two points in the notes.

On page 4, in the recital of the king's titles, he was styled, among other things, Earl of Panova, Patoveta. He did not think with the writer (note 17) that Panoa was a misreading for some other name. Panoa was a well known principality in the days of Rája Siṇha II. and of his father Senarat. It appears prominently figured as Panoa Regnum in Baldeus's map about the southern extremity of the present Eastern Province. Patoveta evidently stands for Pata Hewaheta.

Vassara is explained in note 19 as Vallawe. This is improbable. It probably stands for Passara in the Province of Uva. The Portuguese and the Dutch did not make much distinction between the sounds of *p* and *v* in writing and pronouncing Siṇhalese names.

In the last paragraph of the king's letter on page 19 the king, with apparently unintended sarcasm, reminds his Dutch allies of their crushing defeat at the hands of the Portuguese at Akuressa, a place in the Mátara District. The place, however, is alluded to not as Akuressa (Ribeiro calls it Curaça) but as Averaca. Averaca evidently stands for Aparekka, a place also in the Mátara District, and the explanation probably is that there was some confusion in the Kandyan Court as to the name of the particular village where the Dutch disaster occurred.

He suggested also the following identification, viz., "Catajar" as Cottiar near Trincomalee, and "Alicaon" as Alutgama near Bentota.

He wished also to draw special attention to the value of Mr. Ferguson's first note with its important correction as to the date of the reign of King Senarat.

VOTE OF THANKS.

6. Sir W. W. MITCHELL said that he rose to propose a vote of thanks to the writers of the two Papers. He was afraid he could not say anything or add anything to the subjects. The history of ancient Ceylon was something they should take a very great interest in. Mr. Fernando's Paper, he was sure, was of great interest, and if there was not any work on the Palæography of Ceylon dealing with the ancient coins of Ceylon, they would all be indebted if Mr. Fernando would deal with all the coins collectively.

Dr. CHALMERS seconded, and said that there was difficulty in recognizing Ceylon coins.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the Meeting terminated at a few minutes to 11 o'clock.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 6, 1904.

Present:

The Hon. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.	The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.	Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on May 11, 1904.

2. Resolved,—The election of following candidates as Members:—

T. P. Attygalle: recommended by { C. Batuwantudáwa. G. A. Joseph.

R. J. Perera: recommended by { R. H. Ferguson. J. Harward.

3. Laid on the table Circular No. 89 containing the opinions of Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékera and Proctor W. P. Raṇasiṇha on a Paper entitled "Errors in Ceylon History," by the late K. A. J. Pohath, Mudaliyár, forwarded by his son Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala.

Resolved,—That the Paper be returned to Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala, and he be informed, as it does not go beyond the introduction, that if a copy of the manuscript, of which the Paper appears to be only an introduction, be forwarded, the matter will be reconsidered by the Council.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Ancient Swords," by Mr. C. M. Fernando.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell and Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara for report.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "François Caron and the French East India Company," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. J. P. Lewis and Dr. W. G. Van Dort for report.

6. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Alakéswara: His Life and Times," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṇha and Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara for report.

7. Laid on the table "A Glossary of Words peculiar to the North-Western Province," by Major F. H. Modder.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. J. Harward and the Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere for report.

8. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "A Note on Rája Siṉha I.," by Mudaliyár W. F. Guṇawardhana.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha and Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara for report.

9. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Bhumipatre granted to Disava of Uva in Saka 1736 ('1814 A.D.'), with Translation and Notes," by Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpaṇnala.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. W. P. Raṇasiṉha and Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara for report.

10. Considered a proposal from Mr. Frederick Lewis offering to write a Paper for the Society to be entitled "A Brief History of Agriculture in Ceylon."

Resolved,—That the matter stand over for next Meeting. His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor promised, after communication with Mr. Lewis, to report more fully in regard to the proposed Paper.

11. Considered the fixing of date and business for next General Meeting.

Resolved,—That a Meeting be held about the end of August, but that the actual date and business be left in the hands of the President and the Honorary Secretaries.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 1, 1904.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.	Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.	The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.

Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., Lon., F.R.S., Honorary Treasurer.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on July 6, 1904.

2. Resolved,—The election of following candidates as Members :—

K. W. Atukorála : recommended by { W. A. de Silva. D. B. Jayatilaka.

E. F. A. Kemp : recommended by { A. Willey. G. A. Joseph.

J. M. Weerasuriya : recommended by { W. F. Guṇawardhana. A. J. Wickramasiṇha.

3. Laid on the table a Paper entitled " Portuguese Inscriptions in Ceylon," by Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for report.

4. Laid on the table Circulars Nos. 123, 124, 125, and 127 containing Papers by Messrs. C. M. Fernando, F. H. de Vos, E. W. Perera, and T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala, with the opinions of the gentlemen to whom the Papers were referred to.

Resolved,—That the Papers of Messrs. F. H. de Vos and E. W. Perera be accepted, that Mr. C. M. Fernando's Paper do stand over until his return from England, and that Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala's Paper, with the original manuscript, be referred back to Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara for further report.

5. Resolved, —That a General Meeting be held on September 7, and that the business be the following :—

(1) To read a Paper entitled " Alakéswara : His Life and Times," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
(2) To move a vote of thanks to the Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., for his services as President.

6. Considered the appointment of a President in place of the Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor.

Resolved,—That the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., M.L.C., be provisionally (subject to his consent) appointed President, and the Vice-Presidentship rendered vacant by such appointment be filled by Dr. W. G. Van Dort, and the latter's place on the Council be kept open for the present.

7. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. Armand de Souza, of the *Times of Ceylon*, *re* translation of " De Couto " and " Barros."

Resolved,—That it is regretted that Mr. Souza's offer cannot be accepted, as other arrangements have already been made for the translation of " De Couto " and " Barros."

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 7, 1904.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. C. Batuwantudáwa, Advocate.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. J. M. Gordon, M.A.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. I. Guṇawardana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. G. B. Leechman.
Mr. C. Namasivayam.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin, F.R.I.B.A.
Mr. G. E. S. S. Weerakoon, Mudaliyár.
Ven. F. H. de Winton.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Visitors: Four ladies and twelve gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on May 21, 1904.

2. Announced the election of following Members since the last General Meeting, viz.:—

Messrs. T. P. Attygalle, R. J. Perera, H. W. Atukorála, and E. F. A. Kemp.

3. Mr. E. W. PERERA read the following Paper :—

ALAKÉSWARA: HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

By Edward W. Perera, Esq., Advocate.

During the middle of the fourteenth century the Sinhalese power had considerably declined. Partly due to the draining of the national resources in the attempt to keep back the Tamils, the immediate cause of the disorganization of the kingdom would appear to have been the presence of a Mohammedan usurper on the throne of Kurunégala, Vathimi Kumáraya, son of Bhuvanéka Báhu I., by a Moorish woman. The hatred aroused by the introduction of Mohammedanism as the State religion among an intensely Buddhist population, and the pre-occupation and schemes to oust the usurper and restore the national faith, allowed no time to the Sinhalese to pay any attention to their neighbours, and rendered their hold on the outlying Provinces of the country very precarious.

On the western seaboard foreign pirates who had established themselves at the different ports levied toll and tribute from the country round and plundered passing vessels. On the north the Kingdom of Jaffna daily grew in prestige and power. Since the day the blind harper from Chóla (Tanjore) received from the Sinhalese monarch at Anurádhapura the peninsula of Jaffna as guerdon for his minstrelsy,* the Tamil colony and the dynasty of the prince he led over from South India had grown steadily, and the unrest in the Sinhalese Kingdom gave them an opportunity of quietly developing their resources.

The accession of the learned Parákrama Báhu IV. to the throne of Kurunégala brought back the national faith and a settled government. Beyond restoring order in the districts

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* Brito's *Yalpana Vaipava Malai*, p. 13.

under his immediate control, and giving a great impetus to learning, he achieved little else. Perhaps the shortness of his reign or want of material resources prevented him from re-establishing his dominion over the maritime districts and breaking the power of the Tamil monarch. After him two shadows flit across the Sinhalese throne, Wanni Bhuvanéka Báhu and Wijaya Báhu,* and then we read that the capital has been removed once again from Kurunégala to the more secluded heights of Gampola. Bhuvanéka Báhu IV. was the first monarch who reigned at Gampola. It is very probable that he had founded the city, set up an independent authority, and was ruling while the capital was yet Kurunégala, as he dates his reign from 1344 A.D.† Both he and his successor Parákrama Báhu V. were peaceful monarchs, who passed their time hunting in the woods round Gampola,‡ directing the cultivation of fields, or building *viháras*§ for the Buddhist priesthood, without striking a blow to win back any portion of their lost inheritance.

When Wikkrama Báhu III., surnamed the Pandit, came to the throne in 1356 the authority of the Tamil King was at its height, and rivalled the power of the Sovereign who claimed to be "Lord of the three-fold Lanká." Although history is silent on this point, probably his power was felt in the Seven Kóralés, and the Tamil princes of the Wanni on the Sinhalese frontiers bowed to his overlordship. Backed by a powerful alliance with the mighty Sovereign of the Pandiyas on the neighbouring continent, Árya Chakkrawarti became not only master of the Northern Provinces and possessor of a powerful fleet of sailing vessels, but aimed at extending his authority over the Sinhalese districts on the western seaboard.

In Wikkrama Báhu's reign we first read of the remarkable man, warrior, and statesman, who was the foremost figure in Ceylon History for nearly the next half century. By his

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* Jaya Báhu, *Maháwansa*.

† *Vide* inscriptions and Bell's Kégalla Report, p. 92.

‡ *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. III., p. 276.

§ Bell's Kégalla Report, pp. 78, 79.

genius in war he broke the power of the Tamil confederacy, rescued the country from the anarchy under which it was groaning, purified the Buddhist church, and hurling back an invasion of the Chinese reduced his master, the Siṅhalese Sovereign, to a mere figurehead and rendered himself the one supreme voice in the affairs of the Island.

Owing to the unsettled state of the country the record of this time is very meagre, and one has to construct the life of Alakéswara by piecing together scraps of information scattered in contemporary works, of themselves of no great importance, but read together forming a consistent history of the times. Unfortunately the Chinese chronicles which ought to throw considerable light on the history of this period are not available for reference. I will, however, try to connect the information at hand in the form of a consecutive narrative, citing the authorities on which I base my conclusions in footnotes, with comment and explanation where necessary.

Nissaṅka Alagakkóṇára, or Alakéswaraya, as he was known to the men of his time, was a member of the princely house of the *Giriwaṅsa*,* probably an Áryan Kshatrya clan from the North which had established itself in the city of Kánchipura (Conjeveram). The family appear to have crossed over in the reign of Parákrama Báhu V. during the time his Minister Sénálankádhikári Senevirat was erecting Buddhist shrines in Conjeveram, or still earlier, and to have received the village of Rayigama as their estate. "Sénálaṅkádhikára Senevirat," to quote the *Nikáya Saṅgraha*, "who was born of the high lineage of this king," married a sister of Alakéswara and left two sons by her, Víra Alakéswara, called after his uncle, and Víra Báhu Épá.†

We first hear of Nissaṅka Alagakkóṇára, or Alakéswara, during the reign of Wikkrama Báhu III. (1356–1371), and even at that time he would appear to have been a chief of

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* *Nikáya Saṅgraha*, printed edition, p. 25.

† *Saddharmaratnakara*, Museum MS., C. 12, p. ඉමට.

distinction. "Thereafter," runs the *Maháwaṉsa*,* "in the fair and delightful city on the banks of the Mahaveḷi-gaṉga, renowned under the name of Péradeni Nuwara, and in the days of Wikkrama Báhu the King, the distinguished Alagakkóṇára, born of the lofty race of the Giriwaṉsa, a man of great understanding, endowed with majesty and faith and such like virtues, became Prabhurája. He was exceeding mighty, and desired to promote the welfare of the church and kingdom." The office of Prabhurája to which Alakéswara was appointed appears to have carried the powers and dignity of a Viceroy, though it is difficult to state what the post exactly implied. The times were troublous, and the country required a vigorous and capable ruler at the helm of affairs, a man with the brain to think and the hand to strike. Such a man was found in the Prabhurája. Wikkrama Báhu III., like his immediate predecessors and his successor, appears to have been more devoted to literature and the peaceful arts than to fighting the Tamils. However, he was "wise" enough to realize that the only chance of national safety lay in creating an office conferring full powers of Government on the holder, more than were vouchsafed to Minister, and appointing Alakéswara thereto, preserving to himself the *quasi* sacerdotal character of the Siṉhalese monarch. The Prabhurája, no sooner he received his command, appears to have gone down to Rayigama, his native village, to concert measures to drive out the Tamils. Making Rayigama his headquarters, which he fortified and improved, he decided on building and garrisoning a new stronghold near Colombo as the surest means of checking the enemy. The contemporary record of the *Nikáya Saṉgraha*, to which we are indebted for much of the history of this period, contains a vivid description of the erection of the new fortress with

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* *Maháwaṉsa*, c. 91, vv. 2–4. The passage is incorrectly rendered in Wijayasiṉha's translation. *Cf.* the Páli and Siṉhalese versions. The crowning blunder occurs in v. 9, where the translator says, "And this man (*i.e.*, Alakéswara) became king in that city as Bhuvanéka Báhu V." The text only says "the illustrious (*so*) Bhuvanéka Báhu was king in that city (Kóṭṭé)."

which Alakéswara's name is to this day associated, the scene alike of his triumphs and his tragic death.

"He issued commands through the .... obedient and faithful chiefs (*maṇḍalikas*) in his service, and nigh unto the haven called Colombo he caused a mighty deep and broad ditch to be dug, dreadful to behold, like the sides of a steep rock, right round the village Darugráma, which was situated in the midst of a lake and protected on all sides by a never-failing stream of water,* and he caused to be adorned with different devices like a creation of Viswakarma the intervening spaces on the summit of the great rampart wall, which for the sake of stability had been built entirely of stone from the base of the ditch up to the coping on the wall. Thus he built a famous fortress called *Abhinawa Jayawardhana*,† well fortified with *iḍaṇ-giṇi*,‡ *puli mugam*,§ *bhumiyan-taṭṭu*‡, *aṭṭala*, *i.e.* towers, and *vaṭṭa-veṭṭa*,‡ which were constructed at intervals. He caused to be built on the summit of the great wall of the city for the protection of its four sides four separate holy places, dedicated to each of the four great god-kings who protect the four quarters of Laṇká, Kihirẹli Upulvan,‖ Samanboksẹl,¶ Vibhíshana,** and Kanda

* Since named *Diyawannáwa*, "the stream of victory" (Srí Rahula's *Selalihini Sandésa*, v. 8), so-called after the "City of Victory," Jayawardhanapura. The name has subsequently been corrupted into *Juannawa*, popularly supposed to be derived from Don Juan Dharmapála, the last King of Kóṭṭé (1542–1597).

† Jayawardhanapura, or Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé, "the victory bringing (lit. increasing) city," modern Kóṭṭé.

‡ Old military terms, the meanings of which I have not been able to ascertain.

§ Tam. *puli*, tiger; *mugam*, face: "tiger faces" of masonry, an architectural term.

‖ Víshṇu, the tutelary deity of Ceylon. Siṇ. *Kihirẹli*, so called since the image of the god in the great shrine of Vishṇu at Devinuwara, "the city of the god" (Dondra), was made of Kihiri wood (*Mimosa catechu*); Siṇ. *Upulvan*, Sk. *Utpalavarna*, "green-hued," an epithet of Vishṇu.

¶ Siṇ. *Sumaṇa* and *Samana*, from Sk. Lakshmana, brother of Rámá; and Siṇ. *boksel*, from Sk. *bhrigusaila*, rocky peak, the title by which he was distinguished as the tutelary deity of Adam's Peak, the district round which he is supposed to have ruled. Cf. Siṇ. *Saman Deviyó*.

** Brother and successor of Rávaná, He joined the Áryan invaders, and was placed on the throne of Ceylon by Rámá after his defeat of Rávaná.

Kumára,* and he commanded that the temple services and festivals should be maintained without intermission with every description of music, such as the music of the drum and pipe, and dancing and singing. Having filled it with all manner of riches he peopled the city with a great multitude."†

Finding in the weakness of the Siṇhalese the most favourable opportunity of adding their maritime provinces to his own, Árya Chakkrawarti had marched down from Jaffna. In order to mask his design, he proclaimed that he had come to see the country.‡ "Alakéswara, who saw through the design of this prince, with an army betook himself to the village of Rayigama and pitched there. The King of Jaffna in the meantime continued to advance and seized the seven Siṇhalese ports,"§ the only parts that he could successfully hold against the Siṇhalese, imposed a large tax on the inhabitants, and withdrew. "While these things were passing Alakéswara built a walled town at Rayigama, which he plentifully provided with men and provisions, and also another between the five villages called Cotta, and a moat and a wall there drawn round it. He provided it with troops and quantities of arms, and constructed dykes round the fortress," so as to flood the country round in the event of an invasion. He built moats and tanks to serve as reservoirs, and laid in large supplies of salt, cocoanuts, and paddy to stand a protracted siege.‖ When he had fortified Kóṭṭé,

* Sk. Skanda Kumára or Kártikeya, the war-god of the Áryans, popularly known to the Siṇhalese as Kataragama Deviyó (from Sk. Kartikeya). Kóṭṭé would appear to have been under the special protection of this divinity, to whom a temple was dedicated. The shrine is singled out for praise in Sri Rahula's *Seḷalihini Sandésa*, v. 25, &c., as the glory of the city.

† *Nikáya Saṇgraha* (printed edition), p. 26. To this day there are families at Kóṭṭé bearing gé names showing their descent from sires who came over from villages in the neighbourhood of Alakésawara's city of Rayigama, *e.g.*, Bulat-Siṇhala, Mákalandáwa.

‡ *Valentyn*, vol. V., p 71. (Dutch edition). The passages adapted from the Dutch are placed within inverted commas.

§ Properly "nine ports."

‖ *Rájávaliya* (Guṇasékara's translation), p. 66.

probably leaving his nephew Vijayá Báhu in command,* Alakéswara returned to Rayigama, which he made his base, although he had constantly to divide his time between the two fortresses during the whole of this campaign.

When he had completed his preparations, and they took him nearly twenty years, Alakéswara reviewed his army, and feeling that he was strong enough to take the field defied the Tamil King by hanging the tax collectors, whom Árya Chakkrawarti had stationed in different parts of the country. When intelligence reached Jaffna of the revolt of Alakéswara, Árya Chakkrawarti determined to finally crush the Sinhalese by a simultaneous attack on their two great strongholds. He summoned to his aid a force of 100,000 men † from the Malabar Coast, the subjects of his great ally of Pándiya, in addition to his own army, and sent them forth in two divisions to make attacks on Gampola and Kótté. The force meant for the capture of Gampola marched overland and halted at Mátalé. On hearing this Bhuvanéka Báhu V., who had succeeded Wikkrama Báhu III., although he had a large army with him, could not muster up courage to fight the Tamils, and with a single follower fled from Gampola and sought the protection of his Minister at Rayigama. The Sinhalese monarchs from time immemorial had led their people in war, and the rage of the army broke out in fierce denunciation of the king. "What profiteth us a king," they asked, "who has deserted an army such as we are?"‡ and proceeded to take instant measures to repel the invaders. "They realized that defeat meant certain bondage to the Tamil," and laid their plans most warily. The forces of the

* Also called Víra Alakéswara. According to the inscription on an ancient sword in Mr. C M. Fernando's possession, he was *yuva rajx* living in the palace of the Commander-in-Chief (*Seneviraja Wásala*) at Kótté in 1373 during these events.

† *Valentyn, loc. cit.*

‡ *Rájávaliya*, p. 67.

five districts,* which constituted the Gampola Kingdom, consulted together and made a night attack on the Tamil camp. Taken unawares, large numbers of the enemy were speared to death, and the few survivors that succeeded in escaping, in their struggle to return home, perished on the mountains.†

The force intended to take Kóṭṭé came by sea, disembarked in two divisions at the bay of Colombo and at Pánaduré, and encamped at Gorakána in Demaṭagoḍa. The enemy, according to a contemporary, mustered in great force, "clad in mail and fully armed," and took up positions at Colombo, Wattala, Negombo, Chilaw, &c., which they strongly entrenched with *Wisapeleli*, *Nadasála*, and *Marási*.‡

Behind the walls of Kóṭṭé, with a Siṇhalese army and a force of Tamils,§ probably mercenaries, Alakéswara awaited the arrival of the enemy.

When intelligence reached him of the landing of the enemy, "mounted on his elephant he dispersed a force of about five thousand Tamils that held Mattamagoḍa,"† and stormed their camp and utterly defeated them at Gorakána. Cutting off the retreat of the fugitives by destroying their vessels at Colombo, with a rapid movement he marched to Pánaduré, where he routed the remainder of Chakkrawarti's forces and shattered their ships off that port. After this signal victory Alakéswara returned in triumph to Rayigama. He was hailed as the deliverer of the country and received into the ranks of the five highest princely orders of the realm, *i.e.*, *Dipádhirája*, Supreme Ruler of the Island; *Maṇḍalikarája*, Provincial Ruler; *Pradéṣarája*, District Ruler; *Antarabhogikarája*, Ruler of a sub-district; and *Anusásakarája*, Supreme Counsellor. Numerous bards chanted the praises of the hero. The following Páli pæan,

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* Siṇ. *Uda pas rata*, *i.e.*, Udunuwara, Yatinuwara, Hárispattuwá, Hewaheta, and Dumbara. *Rájávaliya* (Siṇ. ed.), p. X.; *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. III., p. 335.

† *Valentyn*, *loc. cit.*

‡ Old military terms, meanings of which I have not been able to ascertain.

§ *Nikáya Saṇgraha*, p. 27.

which has come down to us, reproduces the spirit and feeling of the time :—

Tatánanta kattabba sudhádhára bhúto.
Salaṇkára lanká suvannaddi vásó.
Sapattebha kumbhabbí bhede pavínó.
*Virajetu lankajánádhí sa sího.**

(The Chief) who has lent his aid in raising many a useful building.

(The Chief) who lives in the Golden Mount, Fair Laṇká.

(The Chief) mighty in cleaving the skulls of foes (strong) as elephants.

May the Lion, the Chief of the people of Laṇká, gloriously triumph.

Árya Chakkrawarti's power was effectively broken by this defeat. The Tamil made no further inroads, and two reigns later Jaffna became a Siṇhalese Province. After the final overthrow of the Tamils, Bhuvanéka Báhu V. returned to Gampola, but his subjects swore they would have no coward for their Sovereign,* and the old king went back to reign at Koṭṭé† under the ægis of his great Minister, whose power overshadowed the Crown (*circa* 1391). Thereafter the mountain districts were administered from Gampola by the young *yuvaraja*, Vira Báhu Ẹ́pa, a brave prince, who re-organized the government and the army, and restored order in the highlands by expelling from the country numerous bands of foreign marauders who were roaming the country in search of pillage.‡

In the years that followed, Alakéswara, now exalted into a national hero, appears to have gradually consolidated his power. By the endowment of viháras, by liberal gifts to the priesthood, and by manifesting an interest in matters affecting the welfare of the church, he enlisted the powerful support of the clergy. In 1369, while Wikkrama Báhu III. yet reigned, we find him presiding at a convocation with the

* *Valentyn, loc. cit.*

† This fact is not expressly stated in the chronicles, but chapter 91, v, 9, *Maháwaṇsa*, and his sannases quoted in Bell's Kẹgalla Report, pp. 93, 94, put the matter beyond any doubt.

‡ *Nikáya Sangraha*, pp. 28-30.

royal authority to correct the abuses of the church and restore harmony among conflicting sects. "With a view to his happiness hereafter," writes Dharmakirti Thero in the *Nikáya Sangraha*, "he caused religious edifices to be built by spending several sums of a thousand pieces; he constructed great Royal Viháras, 'Raja Maha Viháras,' numbers of *Aramas*, such as Sidurugiri Vihára, directed the erection of pirivenas, 'cloisters'* after the honorary family titles borne by his race, called Kánchipura Purandara, 'Chief of the City of Kánchi,' Giriwansasekhara, 'Crown of the Giriwansa race,' and Nissanka Alakéswara. Moreover, in the neighbourhood of his ancestral holding, the noble city of Rayigampura, coveted by numbers of men of many lands and replete with all the requisites of cities, he constructed different viháras for the great body of priests, those that inhabited villages and those that lived in forests, and feeding them with the four kinds of alms he continued to lay up a great deal of merit." "By his liberality, fair speech, goodness, and affability," the same author tells us, "he won the favour of the people." Warrior and statesman, Alakéswara seems also to have been a man of culture and a patron of literary men.

Civil war broke out on the death of Bhuvanéka Báhu V. of Kótté (*circa* 1401).† So long as the old king lived Vira Báhu Epa laid no claim to the lowland Provinces which constituted the newly-formed kingdom of Kótté. Now, Vira Alakéswara Wijaya Báhu of Rayigama, elder brother of Vira Báhu of Gampola, disputed the latter's right to succeed and sought to keep him out of the low-country. Alakéswara appears to have instigated and supported this movement. However, he took the precaution of not openly espousing the cause of either brother. His object seems to have been to place a weak Sovereign on the throne of Kótté, whom he

* Pirivena originally meant a "cell" (see word in Childers' Pali Dictionary, mistranslated "college" in the *Maháwansa*).

† Possibly in the readjustment of a mutilated text this date has been inserted in a wrong place in the *Rájávaliya* (*vide* p. 68).

could bend to his will, and who would owe the throne itself to the Minister. Virá Báhu Epa marched down from Gampola, and in a battle at Rayigama severely defeated his elder brother Virá Alakéswara, who fled the country.*

During this period (*circa* 1408) a Chinese Admiral,† who was cruising the Indian seas with a mandate from the Chinese Emperor to offer tribute or the sword to the Kings of the East, landed in Ceylon. Refusing to yield tribute or allow him to plant a pillar of victory on the coast in token of Chinese sovereignty, with all his old vigour and resource Alakéswara defeated the Chinese in an engagement and beat them back to their ships.

Meanwhile Vira Alakéswara returned from India with succours from the King of Chóla (Maha Desa),‡ defeated his brother, and mounted the throne at Kóṭṭé (*circa* 1401–03). He assumed the crown under the title of Vira Wijaya Báhu VI.,§ the crown which Alakéswara coveted but dared not assume, so much did popular prejudice incline to the old royal line. Subsequent events show that the ambitious Prime Minister was even then aiming at the throne, but the time was not yet ripe for the execution of his design. The new king, unlike his predecessor, was a warrior and a vigorous and capable ruler, and would be dictated to by no master.

A few years later, when the Chinese Admiral Ching-Ho returned to avenge the insult to the Chinese flag, as sketched

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* *Saddharmaratnakara* (Museum MS.), C. 12, p. ෧෧෬.

† *Tennent*, vol. I., pp. 416, 417, 622–624, 628, and the Chinese authorities quoted ; Beal's "Buddhist Records of the Western World," vol. II., 246–282.

‡ I am inclined to think that the Dos Rája or Maha Dos Rája referred to in the *Rájávaliya*, p. 66, is a mistake for a Maha Desa Rája, a Tamil King of the great country, probably Chóla (*cf.* Brito's *Yalpanam Malai*, p. xxv), who helped Wijaya Báhu to defeat his brother Vira Báhu of Gampola, whom perhaps he took captive. Valentyn, who has had access to a more reliable edition of the *Rájávaliya* than the one that has come down to us, describes him as a Tamil monarch. Some pages of the original *Rájávaliya* have been lost, and in an attempt to make a consistent narrative of a broken record a later scribe has rolled up two invasions into one, besides making other serious blunders *Saddharmaratnakara*, p. ෧෧෬.

Vira Báhu, *Maháwansa*.

above, matters had changed in Ceylon. Wijaya Báhu VI. was reigning at Kóṭṭé, and his uncle Alakéswara, a disappointed man, brooded over his lost authority in his native city of Rayigama. He saw in the arrival of the Chinese fleet a means to regain his lost power, and secretly opened up negotiations with Ching-Ho. Stratagem succeeded where valour would have been vain against the entire forces of a hostile country. By a "device,"* apparently suggested by Alakéswara, Wijaya Báhu was completely lulled into security. The Chinese entered Kóṭṭé as ambassadors bearing gifts and tribute to the Sinhalese Monarch from the Chinese Emperor.† When the ruse was discovered it was too late to offer any effective resistance. Wijaya Báhu fighting desperately was taken captive with a number of princes and nobles, while several of his brothers and chieftains fell in the encounter (*circa* 1410–1411). The Sinhalese Monarch, with the other captives, was deported to China, and Alakéswara was acknowledged King by the Chinese as tributary to the "Brother of the Sun."‡ Having seen the Chinese junks depart with the King he set himself to work to bring the nation to his allegiance before having himself formally installed as Emperor.§ Alakéswara was now master of the Kingdom, wielding a greater power than he ever possessed. However, he had scarce ruled for two years when an event occurred which threatened to put an end to his supremacy. Wijaya Báhu VI. released by the Chinese returned to Ceylon (*circa* 1411–1412). On his arrival at the port of Colombo he was greeted with professions of delight by Alakéswara, who went forth to welcome his

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* *Saddharmaratnakara*, Museum MS., C. 12, p. ශ෧ට.

† *Valentyn, loc. cit.*; *Rájávaliya* (Guṇasékara's translation), p. 66.

‡ Lee's translation of Ribeiro, p. 24.

§ Sinhalese Monarchs always assumed the Imperial title, as overlords of the different Kingdoms into which the Island was divided. Even when their dominions only consisted of the Kingdom of Kandy, they tenaciously clung to the title, and had their claim to the dignity, though not to the territory, allowed by both Portuguese and Dutch.

sovereign. That night the returned exile was murdered in his capital* and the Minister governed the country. He did not consider it expedient to assume the Crown at once, fearing that his complicity in the late revolution might be suspected, and his assumption of the royal title would be resented by the nation. However, his ambition would not rest satisfied with the power without the style and dignity of Sovereign, and he proceeded warily to secure the Crown which was already in his grasp. With this object, runs the old tradition,† he attempted to win over to his cause the aged Widágama Maha Sami, the Great Priest of Rayigama, but the old loyalist had other schemes.

When Kóṭṭé was sacked and the King captured, Wijaya Báhu's Queen Sunetra Devi, with her young son, escaped in the confusion and fled to Widágama. His only possible rival to the throne, Alakéswara feared the young prince Ṣrí Parákrama Ẹpana, called by the Chinese Seay-pa-nae-na, and despatched men to kill him. Several attempts to destroy the son of Wijaya Báhu having failed, the prince was secretly concealed by Widágama Maha Sami in the monastery. Here he lived unknown to Alakéswara, and was brought up and educated by the priest, who concerted measures to place the boy on his father's throne. And legend tells how Alakéswara bade Widágama set the crown of Laṇká on his head, how the priest put the usurper off by telling him that a great capital should be built to hold so great a King, and till then he should not be crowned. Hence during the three years of his dictatorship to fulfil the condition and get the Chief Priest to perform the rite, Alakéswara added to and improved his city of Kóṭṭé, converting it from a bare fortress into a magnificent capital with stone baths and cisterns, spacious streets, and fine edifices. At length the city which Widágama meant for another master was completed and a

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*De Couto.

† *Vide* my article on "The Ruins of Kóṭṭé," *Ceylon Literary Register* Supplement (Dec. 1900), p. 41; *Rájávaliya*, p. 68. The countryside tradition supplements the bare summary of events in the *Rájávaliya*.

date appointed for Alakéswara's coronation. Meanwhile a conspiracy was formed, led by the Maha Sami of Rayigama, to rid the country of the usurper and to restore the old line. Shortly before the coronation the Ministers and Chiefs who were dissatisfied with the rule of the Dictator met on the summons of Widágama and decided to bring the prince, now a youth of sixteen, from his concealment and secretly introduce him to the people.

On the 7th day of the bright fortnight of the month Wesak (April–May), 1415, on the raised stone platform facing the palace in his own city of Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé, overlooking the beautiful tank he had built, the old warrior clad in all the insignia of royalty sat to receive the crown for which he had his whole life struggled. The square was filled with nobles, troops, and people. As Alakéswara turned his face for the auspicious rite, the State sword which Widágama Sami held in his hand to gird the new King was handed to the young prince, and the head of Alakéswara rolled into the tank below. The body of the aged hero made way for the son of Wijaya Báhu, and the lad of sixteen was hailed King as Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI.*

Thus perished Alakéswara, like a greater figure in history, a victim to his own ambition. The manner of his death was a fitting close to a stormy career. With him passed away the age of Tamil conquest and oppression. He left the kingdom strong and united, to revive in a measure the forgotten glories of Anurádhapura and Pollonaruwa. He rendered it possible for his successor to carry his arms into the country of Áriya Chakkrawarti, and in fact to be crowned King of a United Laṇká. Once again under Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI. Siṇhalese armies marched from the city of Alakéswara to conquer powerful Tamil kingdoms of the Dekkhan, as they had done in the days of the Great

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* *Rájávaliya*, p. 68. *Ceylon Literary Register* Supplement (Dec. 1900), p. 41.

Parákrama. But it was the last gleam before the darkness; soon the Siṅhalese had to brace themselves for a death struggle for their national existence with an invader far more ruthless and formidable than the Tamil.

Appendix A.

"From that time forward religious harmony prevailed among the priesthood up to the 15th year of Bhuvanéka Báhu V. Up to the fourth year of Bhuvanéka Báhu there was fulfilled 1929 years after the death of our Sage (1382 A. D.). Thereafter there was the own son of Alakéswara Prabhuraja, his* father's nephew Vira Alakéswara, the latter's younger brother Vira Báhu Ẹ́pana, his son Wijaya Ẹ́pa, his younger brother Tunayésa, whose father's elder brother Vira Alakéswara, having been defeated by his younger brother Vira Báhu Ẹ́pa, fled the country. Thereafter he returned and reigned twelve years.

Afterwards, in consequence of the sins of a former birth, he fell into a device of the Chinese and went away; thereupon Parákrama Báhu Ẹpa, the grandson of Laṅká Senevirat, who had been previously mentioned, ascended the throne in the month of Poson in the year of Buddha 1958 and 1722nd year from the establishment of the religion in the Island, after the demise of the said seven."—*Saddharmaratnakara*, Colombo Museum MS., C. 12, p. ෂශව ; MS. V., p. ඩී.

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* "His" refers throughout to the name immediately preceding.

APPENDIX B.

Giriwansa.

- Nissanka Alagakkónára, otherwise Alakéswara Prabhurája (Dictator, 1412–1415).
  - Kumárá (Prince) Alakéswara.
- Arta Náyaká, a religious Chief who resided at Rayigama. (Siṇ. *Attanagaluwaṇsa*, p. 1, and *Mayúra Sandesa*, v. 66).
- A Dévi (name unknown).
  = Sénalaṇkádhikara Senevirat of the Ṣrí Sangabo family, Mehenawara branch, and a close relative of Parákrama Báhu V., probably cousin (*Nikáya Saṇgraha*, p. 25).
  - Víra Alakéswara, afterwards Víra Wijaya Báhu VI. (Kóṭṭé, 1401–1412) = Sunétra Dévi of the Giriwaṇsa.
    - Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI. (Kóṭṭé, 1415–1467).
  - Víra Báhu Ẹpana, Ruler of Gampola (*circa* 1391–1401).
    - Vijaya Ẹpana.
    - Tunayesa

Appendix C.

It is generally assumed that Alakéswara became king as Bhuvanéka Báhu V. on the authority of a passage in the *Rájaratnákara*, which was written in 1542. "On the death of the great King Wikkrama Báhu III., who became king in the city of Péradeni Nuwara, the Minister Alaghakkón, born of the lofty race of the Giriwansa, became the great King Bhuvanéka Báhu V., attained royal state in the city of Gampola, and went to the world of the gods."—*Rájaratnákara* (printed edition), p. 49.

The *Maháwansa*, the portion of which dealing with this period was written in 1757, apparently supports this statement. Mudaliyár L. C. Wijayasinha has rendered the passage as follows (*vide* Wijayasinha's *Maháwansa*, c. XCI., vv. 1–4) :—

(1) "And after the death of (Bhuvanéka Báhu IV.) there reigned two kings in that selfsame city (Gangasiripura), namely, Parákrama Báhu V. and the wise Vikkrama Báhu III. (2) Now, in the time of the King Vikkrama Báhu there (3) was a mighty prince of great wisdom, Alagakkónara by (4) name, and he dwelt in the beautiful and famous city of Péradoni, which is on the banks of the river Mahoru-ganga. And he was endued with majesty and faith and such like virtues, and desired greatly to promote the welfare of the church and the kingdom."

The passage may be more literally rendered :—

"After the death of (*so rájo*) that distinguished king (*i.e.*, Bhuvanéka Báhu IV.) there lived in that same city two kings, Parákrama Báhu V. and the learned Wikkrama Báhu III. Thereafter in the fair and delightful city on the banks of the Mahaweli-ganga, renowned under the name of Péradeni Nuwara, and in the days of Wikkrama Báhu the king, the distinguished (*so*) Alagakkónara, born of the lofty race of the Giriwansa, a man of great understanding, endowed with majesty and faith and such like virtues, became Prabhurája. He was exceeding mighty, and desired to promote the welfare of the church and the kingdom."

Mudaliyár L. C. Wijayasinha translates *Prabhurája* merely by "prince," omits the words "of the Giriwansa," and has missed the significance of the word *so*, which is used here in the sense of "distinguished" or "illustrious," qualifying Alagakkónara as *ille* is in Latin, and not as a relative pronoun, meaning "who" or "that," to refer to *Bhuvanéka Bujo*, (*vide* Childers' Páli Dictionary, under *so*). *So* is similarly used in v.1, *so Bhuvanéka Bujo*, where it refers to no previous noun, and this has been realized by the Mudaliyár. Perhaps a reminiscence of the *Rájaratnákara* made the learned translator of the *Maháwansa* adopt this rendering and omit to notice the fact that Alakéswara belonged to the Giriwansa, while Bhuvanéka Báhu V. was a member

of the Suriyawaṇsa, the ancient royal Siṇhalese dynasty (*vide* Bell's Kẹgalla Report, p. 91). However, contemporary authority places the matter beyond any doubt that the Minister Alakéswara was *not* King Bhuvanéka Báhu V. The Siṇhalese translation of the *Attanagaḷuwaṇsa*, p. 1, which was commenced during this king's reign, contains the following :—

"I translate from Páli into Siṇhalese the *Attanagaḷuvihárawaṇsa* at the command of Anavamadarsi Mahásami Saṇgharája (Pontiff), and at the request made to me on the completion of 1,304 years of the Sáka era (*i.e.* 1382 A.D.) by the Chief General Satrusiṇha Kunjara, who has found favour in the sight of the two, the Minister Alakéswara, the Supreme Chief of Laṇká (*Lankádhiswara*) sprung from an unblemished and ancient race of the noble city of Vanchi (Conjeveram)......... and Prime Minister of Bhuvanéka Báhu V., chief of the nine gems and lord of the three-fold Siṇhala, and his (*i.e.*, Alakéswara's) brother the.........Minister Arthanáyaka."

The *Mayuru Sandésa* ("Peacock Message"), a contemporary poem, contains references to both Bhuvanéka Báhu V. and Alakéswara. The king is described as holding court at Gampola when the poem was written, and the Minister as residing at Raiygampura with his brother Arthanáyaka.

14. සිරි සිය බා නෙල පොල බා රුඳි නිතො ර
රුපු ගජ් බා මුල්නොත බා ගත් කෙස ර
ලක ඔල ඹා සිරි සුල බා කළ මෙපු ර
දින මහ බා බුවනෙක බා රජ පව ර

May victory attend the exalted and meritorious King Bhuwanéka Báhu, whose arm is the constant and loving abode of Lakshmi, who is like a lion that takes the frontal globes of elephant-like enemies ; he who supporting Laṇká made this city (Gampola) abound in wealth.

57. සබඳ මෙපුරවරාධීශවර මහෙශවර මිත්‍ර අලකෙශවර නම් ප්‍රභූ රාජයාගේ විශෙෂ ශ්‍රවණය කර.

Friend ! now hear the greatness of the Prabhurája (Viceroy) Alakéswara, friend of Maheswara (*i.e.*, Siva), the lord of this city.

58. ජයස ක් බෝවාර ගොස තුඟු නාද ක ර
රුපුස ක් නා පැරගත් රජකෙසර යු ර
මුළු සක් වළ නැර යස තෙද සිරි ඉති ර
අලග ක් කෝනාර හිමිසඳ දින මෙපු ර

May the lord Alagakkóṇara, who so often caused chanks proclaiming victory to sound high ; who is like unto a lion-king which strikes down enemies mighty as elephants ; whose fame and glory overflows the whole universe,—prosper in this city (Raiygam).

66. එහිමිසඳ සොහොවුරු ගුණසයුරු මන්ත්‍රීශ්වරයාගේ ප්‍රතිභාස ප්‍රතාප ශ්‍රවණය කර.

Hear the like greatness of that ocean of goodness, the Minister (Arthanáyaka), the brother of that lord (Alagakkóṇara).

67. තුනුරුව න් නිති පුදන බැති පෙමින් ලැ දී
මසුරුව න් සිතු සතුරු මෙන්ම ලූහුබැ දී
සිතුරුව න් සෙයින් වත දෙවන යදි ය දී
මැතිරුව න් මෙදෙව් හිමි දෙව්තුරෙව් සැ දී

With faith and love devout, he ceaselessly makes offerings to the three gems (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṇgha) ; sordid thoughts he has banished from his mind like a foe ; like as the wishing gem he gives away riches to mendicants. This noble minister, a royal lord, is the wish-conferring tree of Heaven.

The *Rájávaliya*, though the pages referring to the Chinese invasion have been tampered with, clearly supports contemporary authorities on the point :—

" The force which marched by land halted at Mátalé ; that which came by sea landed and reached Colombo from Pánaduré and encamped at Gorakána in Demaṭagoḍa, holding the intervening country by a continuous line of defence. Bhuvanéka Báhu, alarmed, left Gampola and fled to the city of Rayigama.

" The army of the hill country said among themselves, ' What profiteth us a king who has deserted an army such as we are ?' And the forces of the five districts having taken counsel together entered the [enemies'] camps at night, created disorder therein, stabbed the Tamils, and made a great slaughter. The Tamils who had escaped the slaughter, being routed, fled to Yápápaṭuna.

" Alakéṣvara broke through and attacked the camps at Gorakána in Demaṭagoḍa, slew the Tamils, destroyed the ships which lay off Pánaduré port, and repaired to Rayigama. [Then] Bhuvanéka Báhu of Gampola went [back] to Gampola."—*Rájávaliya* (Guṇasékara's translation), pp. 66, 67.

Appendix D.

According to the *Nikáya Saṇgraha*, p. 28, Bhuvanéka Báhu V. ascended the throne in 1371, and " in the 20th year of his reign that king's brother-in-law (*suhuru baḍu**), the Ẹpa Vira Báhu of the

* Siṇ. සුහුරු බඩු, from Sk. ශ්ව, ශ්වූර, wife's or husband's father, and භාණ්ඩ, treasure, " the treasure of a father-in-law," hence in Siṇ. a *massiná*, a brother-in-law or cousin (*vide Ummagga Játaka*).—W. P. Raṇasiṇhe.

Mehenewara family, attained to the dignity of king." This enables us to fix the date of the Tamil invasion as 1391, when Bhuvanéka Báhu V. fled the capital and his Ẹpa Vira Báhu occupied the Gampola throne after defeating the invaders. Although Vira Báhu is recorded to have "attained to the dignity of king," he is throughout referred to in the *Nikáya Saṇgraha* as Ẹpa,* and that so late as 1396 (p. 30). This proves that he had not as yet assumed a royal title or was crowned, for the anointed Sovereign Bhuvanéka Báhu still lived at Kóṭṭé, as we find from the *Maháwaṇsa* and his *sannas* referred to in Mr. Bell's Kẹgalla Report. Though the *Rájávaliya*, p. 67, says that the monarch returned to Gampola after the defeat of the Tamils, it will be noted that Valentyn distinctly mentions that the Kandyans refused to have a coward for their king, when Bhuvanéka Bâhu V. would appear to have gone to Kóṭṭé as he had previously betaken himself to Rayigama. Considerable difficulty has been experienced in fixing the date and identity of the monarch who succeeded Bhuvanéka Báhu V., chiefly due to the confusion created by the different titles he bore. Vira Alakéswara, Dambadeni Bandára (*vide* Appendix F), and Wijaya Báhu VI. would appear to be all names for the monarch of the Chinese captivity. He was nephew of Alakéswara, brother-in-law (*suhuru-baḍu*) of Bhuvanéka Báhu V., and a member of the Mehenewara† branch of the Suriyawaṇsa (*vide* Appendix B). Vira Alakéswara is stated in the contemporary *Saddharmaratnakara* (*vide* Appendix A) to have succeeded Bhuvanéka Báhu V., to have reigned for twelve years,

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* Siṇ. Ẹpa is derived from the Sk. *Adhi* (chief) and *pada* (an honorific), hence chief officer or official. The title corresponds to Archduke, and was in ancient times conferred on the heir-apparent. During the 14th and 15th centuries it was borne by other princes of the blood as well, the heir apparent being the Ẹpa *par excellence*. Mapa, Sk. *Maha* (great) and *pada* (honorific), *lit.* great official, Grand Duke, ranked next (*vide Sẹvul Sandésa Rájaratnakara*, p. 47). Ẹpa was superseded in the 15th century by the less august Bandár (Sk. *bhandára*, treasury; *bandár*, one maintained out of the treasury) as the title of the king's sons. The Bandár or Bandára lost the character of a distinctive rank of royalty about the 16th and 17th centuries when, after the Portuguese fashion, Maha Ástana ("His Highness") was adopted as the title for the royal princes. Bandár came then to be conferred on the natural children of the king and the greater chiefs, as the highest rank of nobility, until the title became very common during the last days of the Kandyan Kingdom. The word is not to be confounded with the post of *Pandaram*, Tam. non-brahminical temple attendant (*Guṇasékara's Glossary*, p. 13), which was essentially Tamil, and the holders of which were Coast Tamils. During the later days of the Siṇhalese monarchy, on account of the Hindu religious influence of the Court, many of these had settled in the country and obtained grants of land on service tenure to the déwálas: members of some of these *quasi*-sacerdotal families came into prominence during the Dutch rule.

† For origin of the name (*vide Rájaratnakara*, printed edition, pp. 55, 56).

and to have been taken captive by the Chinese. The Chinese chronicles call him A-lee-ko-nae-wah.* That his official designation was Ṣrí Wijaya Báhu VI. is clear from the *Rájávaliya*, which alludes to his capture and deportation by the Chinese (p. 66). The *Nikáya Saṅgraha*, p. 28, runs, "In the twentieth year of Bhuvanéka Báhu V. his brother-in-law (*suhuru-baḍu*) Vira Báhu Ẹpana of the Mehenewara family attained to the dignity of king," and that he corrected the clergy in 1396 (p. 30).

The *Saddharmaratnakara*, written by the same author (*vide* Appendix A), records that Vira Báhu Ẹpana was the younger brother of Vira Alakéswara, "and that Vira Alakéswara having been defeated by his younger brother at Raigama fled the country. Thereafter he returned and reigned twelve years."

This establishes that the warrior who saved Gampola when the king fled to Rayigáma was not Vira Alakéswara, otherwise Wijaya Báhu VI.,† but his younger brother Vira Báhu. The *Mayuru Sandésa*, vv. 21-23, refers to a chief (? Vira) Vikkrama Ẹpa as Bhuvanéka Báhu V.'s *yuva-rája*, sub-king and heir apparent at Gampola, and an ancient sword inscription (*vide* note*, p. 287) speaks of a *yuva-rája* Vira Bahu living in the palace of the Commander-in-Chief at Kóṭṭé (*circa* 1373). It is difficult to tell whether these *yuva-rájas* are identical, and, if not, which of the brothers is meant. Vira Alakéswara was probably at the time of the Tamil invasion *yuva-raja* at Kóṭṭé assisting the Prabhurája. He succeeded to the throne of Kóṭṭé on the death of Bhuvanéka Bahu V. (*circa* 1400), but his younger brother Vira Báhu of Gampola, with a force from the hill-country, defeated him near Rayigama and seized the throne. Vira Alakéswara fled the country for a time, but returning with succours from India, in his turn conquered Vira Báhu and wrested the crown, of which he was deprived by the Chinese in 1408.

Regarding the date to be assigned to Wijaya Báhu VI.'s reign the authorities are conflicting. It is very probable that his predecessor Bhuvanéka Báhu V. died *circa* 1400. His latest *sannas* was granted in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, *i.e.* 1400.

Wijaya Báhu VI.'s successor Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI., ascended the throne in 1415, according to his stone inscription at Peliyagoda and the testimony of his great contemporary the Poet Totagamuwa. But another contemporary, whose authority stands as high as the courtier-monk, Nallurutun, the *Sanhas* Minister and the reputed son-in-law of the king, fixes the date as 1411–12 (*Námávaliya*, Alwis's translation, p. 75). According to the Chinese accounts the Siṇhalese Monarch Wijaya Báhu VI. was released in 1411 (Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. I., p. 624),

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* Tennent's *Ceylon*, vol. I., pp. 622, 623.

† The *Kavyasékara* describes Wijaya Báhu (VI.) as the father of the reigning monarch Parákrama Báhu VI.

and Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu was recognized as the lawful king in that year by the Chinese, probably after his father's assassination (Appendix F).

The seeming discrepancy in dates may be reconciled on the hypothesis that the State (*sannas*) Secretary reckoned the three years from 1411 as forming a portion of his sovereign's reign, the first three years of Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI.'s reign, which the *Rájávaliya* (p. 68) states he spent at Rayigama, king *de jure* though not *de facto*, while Alakéswara yet ruled at Kóṭṭé.

APPENDIX E.

I am indebted to Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár of the Department of Public Instruction, for the following explanations of the military terms occurring in the text (pp. 5, 8). The words are extremely difficult, and the Mudaliyár adds that his derivations are merely tentative.

ඉඩංගිනි, iron spikes (Tam. ඉඩංගිති).

මරාසි, wooden stakes (Tam. මර, wooden, and අසි, sword).

භූමියංතච්චු, caltrops (Tam. භූමි, ground, and අංතච්චු, antlers. A hybrid compound).

වට්ටවෙට්ට, pitfalls (Tam. වට්ටෛ, way, and වෙට්ටම්, snare).

නඩසාල, snares (Tam. නඩ, walking, and ශාලම්, net or other form of snare, such as noose, &c.).

APPENDIX F.

De Couto's "History of Asia" greatly supplements the history of Alakéswara's times. Writing at a period when the memory of the Chinese invasions was still fresh in the minds of the people he embodied information in his narrative which is not elsewhere available. Diogo de Couto tells us that the Prince of Ajóta (Ayodhya, *i.e.*, Oude), who was exiled from his home and settled in Ceylon, married a daughter of Cholca Ráya (Chola Rája), and subsequently proclaimed himself Emperor of Laṇká. He lived twenty-five years as king and, having no children of his own, left the kingdom to a brother, whom he begged his father to send out to him. This brother had many children, and the crown remained in his line for 900 years without change. Afterwards the supreme power descended to one "Dambadine Pandár Pracura Mabago or Bao,"* and henceforth the Island became famous for its plentiful and excellent supply of cinnamon.

* Dambadeniya Baṇḍár Parákrama Báhu. The reference is to Wijaya Báhu VI., who probably bore the title of Dambadeniya Baṇḍár (*vide* Lee's *Ribeiro*).

Here Diogo de Couto refers to the coming of the Chinese in their junks, and after stating how they contributed to the formation of the name "Chingalla," and passing a few disagreeable animadversions on the character of the Sinhalese, he proceeds :—

"And since the Chins continued trading with the Island and are evil men (as we have said), there arrived in that Island an armada (fleet) of theirs (while Dambadine Pandár was king, as stated above), and, the people of the country entertaining no suspicion of them, on the day which they fixed for their landing they took the king prisoner, sacked his city, and taking thence much heavy treasure they repaired to China and presented the captive king to their own. The latter was greatly grieved at the treachery which his vassals had exhibited towards a king who had welcomed them into his country ; and he forthwith bade them, on pain of death, to take him back to his own realm, for which he ordered an armada to be got together, whereon he embarked him with much honour : and here we shall leave him until we hark back to him.

"This captive king had a daughter, a widow, with two infant sons, whose fate willed it that they should escape the Chins on the day of the sacking, and she fled with them into the interior. After the departure of the Chins, there being no son to the king, a heathen named Alagaxerre (Alakéswara), to whom the king had entrusted the Government of the kingdom, laid hands on the crown. This man, finding himself in that plight, being ambitious to reign in his own right, tried much to lay hands on the princess and the princes, in order to put them to death and make sure of the crown. This lady was warned of this, and, wishing to place her children in safety, fled with them in disguise to the regions of Ceitauaca (Sítáwaka) so secretly that she trusted no man ; and there she remained, maintaining her children in poverty. The traitor, deeming the boys dead, crowned himself Emperor of the Island. It being more than two years since he usurped the throne, the armada from China which was bringing back his king arrived and anchored in the port of Colombo. The tyrant went out to receive him with deceptive pretences ; and taking him into the city that night he murdered him, so that he himself remained king and so lived ten years.

"This tyrant left no sons, and the rule of the kingdom passed to one Chagatar (Sangha Rája Tera, *i.e.*, Widágama Mahá Sámi), a wise man and of virtuous morals. The first thing that the latter did was to institute a search for the princes, who wandered about homeless, now motherless ; and when they were brought before him he received them as his masters, immediately swearing in as Emperor the elder of them, who was called Mahá Pracura Mábago (Mahá Parákrama Báhu, *i.e.*, Srí Parákrama Báhu VI.), who must then have been about sixteen years of age, and he married him to a daughter of the Lord of Candia (Kandy), his vassal and relative ; to the other brother, whose name was Madune

Pracura Mábago (Mayadunne Parákrama Báhu*), the king gave the State of the Seven Kóraḷés.

" This Mahá Pracura (Parákrama) transferred his court to the city of Kóṭṭé, which he founded over again in the same fashion, and with the same motive as the kings of the Decan (Dekhan) so much later founded the city of Xarbedar. The king left no male issue, but he had a daughter (Ulakuda Déwi), who was married to Cholca Ráyar of the race of the ancient kings, of whom she had a son (Víra Parákrama Báhu), whom his grandfather swore in as heir to the throne.

" One Panical, a man from the other coast, a scion of the kings there, arrives into the kingdom of Mahá Pracura Mábago (Mahá Parákrama Báhu), is married to a noble lady and begets two sons, the elder of whom is called Queba Permal (Champaka Perumal, *i.e.*, Sapumal Kumára), who is granted the kingdom of Jaffnapatam with the obligation of vassalage to the King of Kóṭṭé. Queba Permal (Champaka Perumal) ultimately becomes suzerain, and takes the name " Boenegabo Pandár " (Bhuvaneka Báhu Bandár, *i.e.*, Bhuvaneka Báhu VI.), which signifies " king by strength of his right arm." He leaves a son named " Caipura Pandár " (*i.e.*, Pandita Parákrama Báhu VII.), who is subsequently put to death by " Javira," who assumes the title of " Javíra Pracura Mahágo Pandár " (Jaya Víra Parákrama Báhu VIII.), who is succeeded by his son " Drama Pracura Mabago " (*i.e.*, Dharma Parákrama Báhu IX.).

" A brother of this king, ' Boenegabo Pandár,' was lord of Reigam (Rayigam), in whose reign the Western people first came to stay in the Island."—*Morning Times*, Sept. 10, 1904.

APPENDIX G.

The following account of the legends and historical sites of Kóṭṭé was originally contributed by the writer to the *Observer* :—

At a time when the archæology and history of Ceylon are attracting the attention of scholars it is greatly to be regretted that the ancient monuments themselves should be allowed to be wantonly destroyed. As a case in point, I might instance the vandalism that is at present going on at Kóṭṭé, for over two centuries the seat of Government. " On the southern side of Kelaṇiya," runs the classic page of the *Mahá-waṉsa*, " nigh unto the village of the mighty wood, which contained a large pond and wherein dwelt men of great wisdom and virtue, Alakés-wara built the famous city of Jayawardhana Kóṭṭé, and adorned it with rows of great ramparts and gates and towers." It is to these fortifications that the attentions of the Philistines have recently been directed. Surviving the stress of storm and siege of five centuries, still the trace of the massive walls built of huge blocks of cabook stand

* *Vide Parawi Sandésa*, vv. 196, 197.

out clear round the old Siṇhalese fort ; but at the place where the wall had been best preserved in height and massive proportion it was ruthlessly torn down by a new purchaser of the land, and two rows of cocoanut plants take up the ground once occupied by the ancient rampart. And daily the huge slabs are removed one by one until even the trace of it has disappeared, entirely in some parts, and unless immediate steps are taken to arrest further ravages, there will in a couple of years not be the faintest trace of it left for purposes of an archæological survey of the ground plan of the ancient city.

The *Rájávaliya* relates how the great Minister Alakéswara, to break the power of Arya Chakkrawarti, raised the walls of Kóṭṭé, threw up massive dams (*amunu*) to keep back the water, and laying in a good supply of provisions to stand a long siege hanged the tax collectors, who had been quartered in parts of the country to levy dues in kind for the King of Jaffna, and ended by flooding the country round the city by opening the sluices. These ancient embankments, which remain to the present day on the Talangama road, about a mile and a half from Kóṭṭé, are called Parana Amuna (the old dam) and Kuda Amuna (the small dam) respectively.

The old countryside tradition supplementing the *Rájávaliya* tells us how, after building his city, the ambition of Alakéswara to become king bade Widagama Mahá Sámi place the crown of Laṇká on his head, and as he sat on the coronation slab facing the tank the old priest gave the State sword which was to have girded the new king into the hands of his *protégé* Prince Parákrama ; how the head of Alakéswara rolled into the tank below ; and the lad of sixteen was hailed king under the title of Ṣrí Parákrama Báhu VI. The coronation seat, a *dais* composed of slabs of dressed granite, had long escaped the ravages of the villagers, being covered with turf. But recently digging near the spot a rustic accidentally struck at the granite basement, and now the stones forming one side of the throne have been removed to a neighbouring temple garden, where they are being utilized in the building of a new viháré. If the proper authorities would wake up, there is still time to get the stones replaced *in situ* and preserve an interesting monument. The old tank, traditionally ascribed to Alakéswara, has so far escaped, being covered over with thick lantana, but this state of things cannot last very long ; the stones, &c., will be removed and the place of the tank will know it no more. Both these monuments stand in the old Palace garden still known as the *Pas Mal Peya Watta*, "the garden of the five-storied palace."* Only one or two broken stumps of stone pillars mark the site of the stately pile where the mighty Parákrama held court. What Portuguese and Dutch invaders spared, the exigencies of the Public Works Department could not do without, and the few perfect stone columns that remained were carted away some years ago to build the bridge at Hendala.

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* *Vide Seḷalihini Sandésa*, v. 11, and "Glossary."

Proceeding along the old royal street now disused the Maligawatta is reached, the site of the three-storied Temple of the Sacred Tooth. Torn down by the fanaticism of Portugal and converted into a Romish Church, it was levelled to the ground, and if we are to credit Pridham, most of the materials removed to build the Dutch Church at Wolfendahl. At last the land came into the hands of the tribe of Generseric the Vandal. Not content with selling the pillars, carved capitals, pilasters, and dressed slabs lying about, the massive foundations of the palace were attacked on one side and the firmly cemented granite rubble sold and carted away. In the course of these "excavations" the huge iron tripod or lamp on which the lights blazed at festivals was, I understand, unearthed, and other sundries, but where they are at present, the deponent not knowing, cannot say. For a short period operations were suspended, the property being encumbered ; the land has, however, reverted and the work of destruction recommenced. It has entered on a new phase, and the digging has commenced on the hitherto untouched sites of the *Natha*, *Vishnu*, and *Saman Déwálas* which supported the Temple of the Tooth, and some beautifully carved granite capitals have been already thrown up. Their fate is not uncertain, as the *Maligawatta* is the common quarry of the village. To set out one more instance of the kind, at the village of Pita Kóṭṭé, which constituted the outer city, stood the dágaba and temple, where, according to tradition, before their coronation, the monarchs of Kóṭṭé used to ride on horseback for the ceremony of cutting the talipot tree, springing into life again like the golden bough of Virgil with the advent of each successive ruler ; and the same spot, adds the legend, will see the palm sprout again when a prince of the Siṇhalese should be born to wield the sceptre. The temple had vanished centuries ago with the other Buddhist buildings, and the *dágaba* which had remained intact, spared alike by conqueror and by time, has recently been taken in hand by an enterprising villager, and the bricks in the dome are being daily abstracted to build a house which is rising in the neighbourhood. Now, only the basement is left of it, and that too is fast disappearing. The peasant passing the spot by night fancies he sees a white figure on a white steed holding his sword aloft, and imagines it the spirit of the unborn monarch, for the belief is general among the peasantry of the lowlands that a prince called Diyasena—as Arthur, or Barbarossa—will appear at the supreme moment of his country's fortune, who will alike be national king and Messiah, proof against shot and shell, and that he will revive the glory of the ancient capital, build its walls anew, and that once again a Siṇhalese prince will ride in State to strike the sacred talipot and be crowned king of a united Laṇká. Such is the national dream that clings to the hoary ruin !

The steps leading down from the ancient moat, and many of the stones that paved it, have been removed, and the stone lintels, nay the very slabs with which the public buildings had been paved, have been

ruthlessly torn out, and do duty as doorposts or stepping-stones in private houses. The pickaxe of a villager now and again throws up a clay pipe belonging to the system of underground pipes for supplying water to the city, and no sooner it is thrown up than it is broken. If effective steps are not taken to check this vandalism, there will, in a short time, be nothing left from which, as I have said before, even to trace the ground plan of the old capital, much less to judge of the style of architecture or the way that the pipes had been laid.—*Observer*, November 9, 1900.

Appendix H.

Tennent mentions Gampola as the capital invested by the Chinese and where the king was taken. This is clearly a mistake, due to Tennent's insufficient acquaintance with the Siṇhalese annals relating to the period. All the authorities point to Kóṭṭé being the scene of the disaster, although, so far as I am aware, there is no definite mention of the name of the capital anywhere. Mr. Bell first doubted the correctness of Tennent's view in his Kẹgalla Report. The *Observer* criticized the omission of any reference to the Chinese invasion, under the head of "Gampola" in Sir Archibald Lawrie's "Gazetteer of the Central Province," which gave rise to the following correspondence:—

"In explanation of the omission from the Central Province 'Gazetteer' of all reference to the incident of an undoubted Chinese invasion of Ceylon, under the head of 'Gampola,' Mr. Lawrie is good enough to write as follows:—

"In last night's *Observer* you express surprise that under Gampola in the 'Gazetteer' I have not mentioned the investment of 'Gampola' by the Chinese, the taking the king a prisoner, his being taken on board a Chinese fleet and carried captive to China, &c.

"If such things happened (?), my opinion is that they took place at Kóṭṭé near the coast, and not at Gampola, which in 1408 was not (I think) the capital or the residence of the king.

"The whole story is obscure, and as told by Tennent, vol. I., p. 622, it varies from that told on page 628. So far as I know, Tennent is the only author who identifies the capital of which the Chinese author wrote with 'Gampola.' I think he was wrong."

It certainly seems much more likely that the Chinese invaders should have defeated and captured the king near the coast at Kóṭṭé, than that they were able to penetrate into the then almost inaccessible interior and conquer the Kandyans on their own ground. Neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch—coming long after the Chinese—were able to do this, and on reflection we are inclined to adopt Mr. Lawrie's view. It is very strange that Tennent refrained from dwelling on the difficulties attending the march of a large army so far into the hill-country as Gampola, and that he should have so unhesitatingly fixed

on that as the capital besieged, when two years after, or in 1410, he admits the seat of Government was transferred to Kóṭṭé. The historian, however, does afford some particulars to justify his selection of Gampola. He says the Siṉhalese King decoyed the Chinese General and force into the interior, threw up stockades with a view to their capture, and ordered soldiers to the coast to plunder the junks. But that Ching-Ho, by a dexterous movement, avoided the attack and invested the capital (Gampola). All that, however, is much more compatible with the Kóṭṭé district, fort, and capital being the scene of operations ; and they are far enough inland to warrant a reference to the "interior." The subject is certainly one well worthy of investigation : if the Chinese had penetrated to Gampola, there would surely be references in local traditions, the scene of battle, &c. Perhaps it would have been better had the "Gazetteer" referred to Tennent's connection of Gampola with the Chinese invasion, in order to say that their penetrating so far was discredited, and that Kóṭṭé was much more likely the capital of the Siṉhalese King at the time."—*Observer*, Jan. 18, 1897.

4. The CHAIRMAN invited discussion on the Paper read.

5. Mr. J. HARWARD said that the author should have given more consideration to the view expressed by Mr. Bell in his Kẹgalla Archæological Report. It was extremely doubtful whether the Alakéswara who was minister to Wikrama Báhu III. in the middle of the fourteenth century, was identical with the Alakéswara who resisted the Chinese early in the fifteenth century.

6. Mr. W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA said that the Paper was a valuable contribution to the history of an obscure period. He agreed with the author that Alakéswara, the Viceroy, whose life proved the subject of the Paper, was not the person who became King of Ceylon as Bhuvanéka Báhu V. Bhuvanéka V. was a royal prince of the Solar dynasty. Alakéswara was a Dravidian noble, who belonged to the hill tribe (Giriwaṉsa) of India. He did not agree with the author that this was proved definitely by the *Maháwaṉsa*. The passage in the *Maháwaṉsa* was as follows :—

Pure tahim pañcamo so
Bhuwaneka Bhayo ahu

Taken with the context this might be translated : "In that city he (*i.e.*, Alakéswara of the context) became king as Bhuvanéka Báhu V." This was the rendering given by Wijésiṉghe in his published translation of the *Maháwaṉsa*, and it ought not to be described as a "crowning blunder." The passage might also be rendered : "In that city there lived the illustrious Bhuvanéka Báhu V." In view of other evidence this rendering should now be adopted. He hoped that the author of the Paper would collect the evidence which proved that Alakéswara was not identical with Bhuvanéka Báhu V. The Chinese chronicles appeared at first sight to point to the opposite conclusion, for they gave the name of the king deported to the land of the Celestials as A-lee-koo-nae-warh, *i.e.*, Alagakóṇára, the Tamil form of which the Sanskrit rendering is Alakéswara. But there was more than one Alakéswara, and we learn from the *Saddharma Ratnakarayaya* that the king

who was deported to China was Víra Alakéswara, the nephew of Alakéswara the Viceroy. With regard to the tragic end of Alakéswara the Viceroy, so graphically described by the author, he could not credit either the treachery ascribed to that character, or the part played in his downfall by the priest Widágama. He could not believe that so noble a soul, who had so long possessed and wielded its real power, would have risked the undoing of his work by snatching at the bauble of royalty; nor could he believe that the spiritual head of the Buddhist Church, who would not permit the life of a fly to be taken if he could help it, would have compassed the death of so great a man and helped in the execution of the plot.

7. Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara said the Paper did not contain conclusive evidence in support of the alleged disappointment of Alakéswara in becoming king. This was the most important point in the Paper for discussion and settlement. The *Maháwaṉsa*, *Rájaratnákara*, and *Daladá Pújávaliya* supported the view that he had become king. The *Rájaratnákara* clearly stated that he had ascended the throne under the name of Bhuvanéká Báhu.* The evidence in these books was important. In conclusion he thanked Mr. Perera for his Paper and for having thereby prepared the way for others to make further research.

8. Mr. E. W. Perera said: In the translation I have adopted of the passage in the *Maháwaṉsa* (chapter XCI., vv. 1–4) I have taken the word *so* in v. 3 as signifying "distinguished" or "illustrious," qualifying Alagakóṇára, and not in the sense of "who" or "that" referring to a word previously mentioned, *i.e.*, *Bhuvanéka bujó.* Irrespective of the *Maháwaṉsa*, contemporary authority is unanimous on the point that Alakéswara was not identical with Bhuvanéka Báhu V. (*vide* Appendix C). Alakéswara belonged to the Giriwaṉsa, while Bhuvanéka Báhu V. was a scion of the Suriyawaṉsa. In regard to the suggestion that there might have been more than one Alakéswara, I may point out there were two others, Víra Alakéswara, afterwards Wijaya Báhu VI. (*vide* Appendix), and Kumára Alakéswara, the nephew and son respectively of the great minister. However, I think it is clearly indicated in the references to him that the Prabhuraja of the latter days of Wikkrama Báhu III., the Chief Minister, and Prabhuraja of Bhuvanéka Báhu V. (*vide* Appendix C), the conqueror of Tamils and Chinese and the aspiring dictator, were the same individual. Doubt has been cast as to the participation of Widágama Maha Sámi in the assassination of Alakéswara, on the ground that the story merely rests on tradition, and that it is unlikely that a Buddhist High Priest would lend himself to the commission of murder. The *Rájávaliya* narrative (p. 68) distinctly mentions the complicity of Widágama Maha Sámi in the assassination, and it is only religious bigotry that has made the chroniclers gloss over the event.

9. The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Perera for the excellent Paper he had read. It was both interesting and instructive. His reference to the Chinese conquest of Ceylon ought to stimulate inquiry into a period of our history which is not as

* De Couto states that Alakéswara became king and reigned twelve years. The old paraphrase to *Attanagalawaṉsa* contains conflicting evidence, for in one place Alakéswara is referred to as minister of Bhuwanaika Báhu and in a subsequent place as King of Ceylon.

fully known as can be desired, and valuable information with regard to that period might be obtained from records that may be preserved in China. His reference to Raigama also supplies information that is not possessed by many of us, who regard it as an obscure village, without any idea of its claim to having been the seat of so distinguished a character in our history as Alakéswara.

With regard to the observations just made as to the part the Buddhist Priesthood took to restore the throne to its rightful owner, it should be kept in view that they were invariably consulted in matters of importance affecting the State, and they must have been interested, in common with many others, in attaining this object, but they might not have dictated the measures adopted to get rid of the usurper, and his assassination might have been effected by others than the Priesthood.

10. Mr. R. G. ANTHONISZ seconded the vote of thanks to Mr. Perera for his Paper, and the motion was carried with acclamation.

---

11. Mr. J. HARWARD, in moving a resolution with reference to the resignation of the Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, said: I have been asked to propose a resolution to put on record our regret at the loss to the Society of the gentleman who occupies the Chair to-night, and who is President of the Colombo Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. I am sorry this resolution has not fallen into worthier hands. Our two Vice-Presidents are away from Colombo, and those whose learning and attainments would have rendered them more suitable representatives of this Society on such an occasion are unable to be present with us to-night. This is hardly the place in which to enlarge on that warm-heartedness and personal charm which have made the Lieutenant-Governor so dear to many in Ceylon. I must confine myself to his relations with this Society. His connection with the Royal Asiatic Society began within a few days after his landing in Ceylon. We had just lost the services of one who had been our President for many years and whose place it was extremely difficult to fill—I mean the present Metropolitan of Calcutta. It was just when the Society was called upon to face this loss that we learned that Ceylon was going to have, as its Colonial Secretary, one who was distinguished in the scientific world, and who had devoted many years to the study of nature and man in the tropics. Mr. im Thurn would in any case have been welcomed as a Member of this Society, and would have been expected to take a leading part in its work and in the direction of its affairs. But, at that particular juncture, the Society felt itself called upon to invite him to become at one and the same moment a Member of the Society and its President. He has held that office for two and a half years. We had all hoped that he would hold it for a much longer period, and that with more time and leisure he would have been able to contribute to our Journal some of the results of his personal research. The needs of the Empire, however, have intervened, and Mr. im Thurn has been called upon to fill the highest official position in an important Colony before he could accomplish all that we expected and that he hoped. We are none the less grateful for what he has actually done. He has been unfailing in his attendance, both at the Meetings of the Council and at the General Meetings of this Society. In spite of the laborious and absorbing nature of his official work he has always found time to take an interest in the questions that have come before us. He has in fact been an ideal President for a learned

Society, and I am sure that I am expressing the views of all of you when I say that there is no place in Ceylon where his presence will be more missed than in this room, and that if ever in the future he should return, in another capacity, there is no place where he would receive a warmer welcome. Ladies and Gentlemen, I propose this resolution :—

"That the Members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, while offering their congratulations to the Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., on his appointment as Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, wish to place on record their regret that he is obliged to resign the office of President of this Society, and their gratitude for the constant interest which he has taken in its work."

12. Dr. WILLEY, Director of the Colombo Museum, seconded the resolution, and in doing so said : Ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a great privilege to be called upon to second the resolution which has been so ably proposed by Mr. Harward. I do so with great pleasure, and at the same time with not a little sense of responsibility. This must be almost the last, if not quite the very last, public function in Ceylon at which Mr. im Thurn will assist before his departure for Fiji, and the words which he hears in this room to-night will possibly cling to his memory for some little time. I have only been a Member of this Society for a short time. During that period I have been elected a Member of the Council and have attended a fair proportion of its Meetings. I am sure all the Members of the Council who have served the Society for many years will agree with me when I bear witness to the patience and tact with which the President has dealt with matters which have come before the Council. It may be in a manner appropriate that I should speak on an occasion of this kind, because, as we all know, the Colombo Museum was an offspring of the Asiatic Society. Sir William Gregory was its godfather and Mr. im Thurn has been a very good friend to it. To-night we bid him farewell, not in his capacity of Lieutenant-Governor, but as President of this Society. I think the Society is to be congratulated on the names which appear on its Presidential roll, and not the least of those will be that of Mr. im Thurn, who, as Mr. Harward pointed out, has not been merely an ornamental figurehead of this Society, but has shown genuine interest in its welfare by actively participating in its Meetings. Mr. im Thurn, I venture to think, is a living illustration of the fact, which is perhaps not realized as fully as it might be, that scientific attainments, inclinations, and sympathies are not incompatible with a humane disposition, administrative ability, and political sagacity. He has tested the heights of Roraima and the depths of the Gulf of Maṇṇár, and I suppose that it now remains for him to survey the extensive domains which are about to pass under his jurisdiction from the cradle of a balloon.

Whether he is destined to conquer the air as he has conquered the land and the sea, we may be quite sure he will ever retain the same lofty interest in all positive knowledge which he has hitherto displayed, and we may hope he will always look back with pleasure and satisfaction upon his term of office as President of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

13. The PRESIDENT replied to the vote of thanks and said : Ladies and Gentlemen, it seems to me that I have for a good many weeks past been singing a sort of swan song here in Ceylon, but now, as Dr. Willey

has remarked, it has come practically to the last note, and the last words. The difficulty that I find in thanking you is a cumulative one, because I have had the pleasant experience of finding that the sadnesss of going away is almost worth undergoing for the sake of the kind things said by you of me. I do not think that I ever suspected that people did not like me, but I have been surprised and most deeply touched at the expressions of kindly feeling that have been uttered.

On Saturday night His Excellency was good enough to make a speech, of which I do not mind confessing I am very proud. Just before he spoke he asked me what was the Latin for swollen head. I am afraid I was not prepared with the Latin version, although I might have suggested *osteoporosis*. However, I thought it wiser not to tell him so, because he might have alluded to the probability of my head being swollen. I do not think that is the case with me. While deeply thankful for the kind things that have been said about me, I feel they are too kind. For instance, what I have done for this Society has been very much less than what I wished to do, and very much less than what I ought to have done.

Mr. Harward, I think, said that one of the reasons for wishing to get me as President was that I had previously been engaged in the study of man and nature in the tropics. That was true enough, but in those days—in my early Guiana days—I had plenty of time for such study. When I first entered Government service as a Magistrate in the interior of Guiana my work was confined to one day in each month, and the remaining twenty-nine days were devoted to "the study of nature and man." I am sorry to say that that happy state of things did not last long, and many years before I left Guiana my work had increased so much that I had very little time left. Since I have been in Ceylon I have, except in a most ephemeral way, been able to do nothing in "the study of nature and man" here. That, I think, has been left very much to my friend Dr. Willey. I think one of the great benefits I did to the Society was to get Dr. Willey to come here. And I hope he will justify the choice which I made by gradually infusing into the proceedings and publications of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society a greater element of natural history. It seems to me that this is one of the things which is very greatly needed here. I can hardly find words to express my thanks to you, but you may be sure that wherever I may be, in Fiji or elsewhere, I shall always look back upon Ceylon in general, and this Society in particular, with the greatest affection and interest.

Before I close I should like to say one word about my successor. The Presidents of this Society, as you are aware, are elected every year. There are two or three months left of my year of office, and for that period the Council has exercised its right by electing in my place a man who, in certain ways, probably knows more about Ceylon and its history than any other man, Mr. John Ferguson. He is, as you are aware, away at the present moment. He will be back shortly, and if he accepts the appointment, which I sincerely hope he will do, I feel sure he will make a most excellent President, and I trust that when the election for next year comes on you may succeed in persuading him to remain in that office. I thank you, Ladies and Gentlemen, most sincerely and most deeply for all your kindness to me, and I wish you good-bye.

This concluded the business of the Meeting.

FRANÇOIS CARON AND THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

By F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law, Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden.

THERE is in the Society's Library a little book in Dutch which is curious reading. It is entitled—

Historie van Oost-Indien vervattende behalven de zeer nette beschryving der vergelegene landen, een omstandig verhaal van het wedervaren der Franschen aldaar.

Uit der zelver aanteekeningen overgezet en met konst-plaatjes vercierd.

Te Rotterdam,
By Pieter van Slaart.
MDCXCVI.

(History of the East Indies, including, besides a very clear description of distant lands, a full account of the experiences there of the French. Translated from their notes, and adorned with plates. Rotterdam. (Publisher) Pieter van Slaart. 1696).

The author winds up as follows :—

" The author of these notes has collected them only to encourage men of greater light than he to set to work in a more regular and effective manner. He has had in this work no other aim than to cause the dangers known to him to be avoided and to testify his zeal for the glory of his Sovereign and the welfare of his country."

The writer gives a detailed account of the doings of the Company, but we are only concerned with the person who

played an important part in the events recorded in the work.

"The French East India Company chose Madagascar as the headquarters of their ships and the 'halfway house' in their trade with the Indies ...... The Company also chose two Directors of the General Chamber—the one was De Faye, the other Caron, a Dutchman, who was before this a Director of the Dutch Company in the Indies. This choice was made under the condition that the Frenchman should have precedence over the foreigner, notwithstanding that they were of equal rank ...."

This was in the year 1666.

We are not concerned with Caron's experiences during the next year, but he was apparently in Surat when De Faye set out with his fleet (A° 1668) from Madagascar to Surat. Chapter II. of Book II. is devoted to an account of Ceylon, which I translate:—

"*Chapter II.*

"Ceylon is seen. Description of the forts which the Hollanders have in this island.

"On the 24th December (1668) the island of Ceylon was seen, and seemed to be at first sight a fine level country, but on approaching it we saw many high hills covered with trees. On the 25th in the morning, as the French were taking soundings in the Bay of Mata,[1] there came two Dutch ships to see who they were, which at once returned to anchor above Cap Rouge[2] (which is a bend of this bay, with houses, warehouses, and a small fort on which waved the Dutch flag). This settlement, which is called Saudry,[3] was approached by the ship 'The Golden Eagle' (l'Aigle d'or), and at once met a *canot*[4] with a soldier therein, who came on orders from the Governor Pieter de Groot[5] to announce that the French were always welcome wherever there were Dutchmen, and that if anyone had anything to communicate in writing there were ships in Point de Galle ready to proceed to Europe. Heer Goujon got some

letters in readiness for the General Chamber in France to intimate what progress they had made.

"Having proceeded three miles further we sighted Point de Galle, close to a hill in the shape of a peak which indicated the place from afar. A very fine new fort was seen through the telescope, many well-built houses, and five big ships at anchor in the bay. It was learnt from a soldier sent by the King of Sandy[6] that the Dutch were at war with the King of Ceylon, from whom they had captured many of his subjects, who were made to work with iron chains on their legs in the fort of Point de Galle.

"On the 27th, sailing along the south side, there appeared on a small hill a Dutch settlement called Barberin.

"On the 31st, twenty miles from Point de Galle, was seen the city of Colombo, well built, situated on the seaside on a well-planted plot of ground affording a very nice view. There was on a side of it a large fort, and eight ships were seen in the roads.

"The Dutch are well established in Ceylon, where they have there, besides Point de Galle and Colombo, two more cities called Negombo and Japhepatnan, and have well fortified themselves in the north, west, and south coasts. The east coast, as there is no cinnamon there, has not much protection bestowed on it. The Portuguese also had formerly some forts there, but these have been taken and dismantled by the Hollanders.

"Between 7½ and 8 degrees north there are two places, of which the one is called Tinkemale and the other Battecalo. This latter is situated in a fine safe bay, into which a large river flows. The ships can in full sail go in and out of it. At the angle of this bay there is a very suitable place to build a fort, which the King of Ceylon would gladly give to any nation which could withstand the Dutch, because they take away all his cinnamon without paying for it, giving as their excuse that they had spent much money in driving away the Portuguese. They keep all the cities and forts taken from him to themselves, exclusive of those dismantled, without

giving over any of them to him, although they had bound themselves by treaty to hand over some of them. They keep them as security for the debt and take the cinnamon as part of the interest.

"One can easily have dealings with the king from Battecalo, as the city of Kandy where he lives is almost in the middle of the island, two days' journey from Battecalo and Colombo. The maps which show otherwise are not correct.

"Close to Kandy, on the side of Battecalo, there is a fine cinnamon jungle, which neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch have ever possessed, partly because it is too close to the king's dominions and partly because they had not made much effort in that direction, as the west coast yields more than can be used by the whole world. This king who is not very rich, as all what his land produces is taken from him without payment, would gladly get a merchant who would buy this jungle. And this was a good opportunity for the French to get the cinnamon trade, but the Hollanders now have the monopoly thereof and take it all away from Ceylon. But the great expenses they incur in this island have taught them to seek still other sources of revenue."

De Faye arrived in Surat on the 10th March, 1669, and met Caron, who complained that his dismissal of some of the Company's officers had been cancelled by the authorities in Madagascar. On the 12th Caron received De Faye in great state, and they were entertained to a sumptuous feast in the house of a Moor of Surat. An illustration is given of the reception. De Faye afterwards called on the English President Hendrik Oxinden, and was some days afterwards visited by the Dutch Commandeur.

Caron soon after wanted to know from De Faye what he had written about him to Paris, when certain letters were sent to him through Mr. Joubert, full of complaints about Caron's doings. Caron was much agitated in mind on reading these, but De Faye to calm him said that he had not written the letters, and wrote a letter to the Company in favour of Caron.

In fact Caron, "the foreigner," was much suspected by the French of not dealing fairly with the Company. On the 21st April De Faye died of dysentery in Surat, not without any suspicions of having been poisoned by Caron.

Caron was now sole Director in Surat. The other officers desired an investigation into Caron's dealings, and delegated Father Ambroise de Preuilly, Chief of the Capuchins, to approach Caron and make the necessary inquiries. Caron, however, resented this, and turned him out of his house, threatening to put him in irons.

He thereafter wrote to Paris a long report on the trade in India. At the end of the Appendix to this report the author says :—

"Heer Caron, to carry out his schemes as regards cinnamon, wrote in the Bay of Cochin the following letter to the King of Ceylon, which shows what a superior man he was :—

"Sir,—Matters in the East have become quite notorious in Europe, where its kings and princes seek a means whereby they can enjoy in full freedom and satisfaction what grows on your lands and on your ground. Therefore opportunity was sought to found a new Company in France, which has been started in the royal city of Paris. And in order to its lasting development, the most Christian King of France has thought fit to send out noblemen to offer presents to Your Imperial Majesty and to consider such means as may bring about a lasting treaty and friendship with the kingdom of Your Majesty, that it may overflow with blessings, happiness, and prosperity, as formerly in the days of your predecessors.

"But I have appeared so late in this coast of India that it was impossible for me this year to completely carry out the directions of my king. In the meantime I venture with all respect to take this opportunity of bringing to Your Majesty's notice that I am one of the old servants of Your Imperial

House. If Your Majesty be pleased to cause your courtiers to reconsider the events a few years back they will read of François Caron, who on the 9th January, 1644, took the fort of Negombo from the Portuguese after defeating the hosts of Don Antonia Macharetuan [7] and those of Don Antonio Mothagalvan.[8] Since that I have entered the service of the most Christian King of France and been entrusted with weighty undertakings. That it may still please the good God that everything will turn out well for the common good and to the service of Your Imperial Majesty, and that he will preserve your high and mighty person and your wide kingdom and give you victory over your enemies. Done on board my ship, in the Bay of Cochin, on the 29th December, 1667.

"Sir, Your Majesty's most obedient Servant,

"FRANCOIS CARON."

Suspicions against Caron's loyalty to the French began to increase. On the 2nd January, 1670, the French deputed Heer Joubert to go to France to lay their grievances before the Directors there—the grievances being that Caron enriched himself at the expense of the Company. But when Joubert touched Madagascar on his way to France he was informed that Caron had made him his prisoner, but he arrived in France on board the ship "La Force" on the 10th September, 1670. Caron was recalled to France, ostensibly to give the Directors the benefit of his experience in the trade to the East Indies, but in reality to answer the charges of Joubert. Having arrived in the Straits of Gibraltar he wanted to make the "river of Lisbon," but his ship struck on a rock, and he was drowned and everything on board lost. His son, however, was saved.

The above is a short summary of the doings of this remarkable man gathered from this rare book. What induced Caron to leave the Dutch and take service under the French is unknown to the present writer.

Further particulars about Caron will, however, not prove uninteresting. I take the following from II. *Wapenheraut*, p. 51, which I translate :—

"1644.—François Caron (Arms. D'arg, a la bande d'azur, semée de fleurs-de-lis d'or. Cimier un vol-banneret, chaque aile aux armes de l'ecu).

"1639–40.—Chief of Japan.

"1642–47.—Ordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies.

"1647–50.—Chief Councillor and Director-General of the Dutch Indies, Knight of the Order of St. Michael.

"1642.—Commandeur of the Return Fleet of nine ships with a cargo worth 3½ million guilders.

"1643.—30th September left Batavia with a fleet for Ceylon, where he arrived in December.

"1644.—9th January reconquered Negombo, and was afterwards one of the biggest landowners of Java.

"He appears after 1650 to have taken service under the French East India Company. He repatriated 20th February, 1651, on board the 'Prinses Royaal.' Left in 1671 for France and was wrecked on the coast of Portugal.

"Valentyn says of him : 'A man who, in view of his great qualifications in all matters relating to the East Indies, deserved a better and longer life.'

"He was a sharp-witted cunning man, with clear judgment in everything and close student of all things that came under his observation, by which he made his way to the highest offices, as he, after being in Batavia a few months, rose to the rank of Extraordinary Councillor, and afterwards, on his return to the Indies in 1643, to that of Ordinary Councillor, and thereafter Chief of Tayouan and Director-General of the East Indian trade.

"According to the Biographical Dictionary of Troostenburg de Bruyn (Predikanten), p. 87, François Caron and Daniel Caron were sons of François Caron, who in 1647 was Director-General of Trade in Batavia. The first-named was born in 1634 in Firando in Japan. He became a student at Leyden, 4th September, 1654, afterwards at Utrecht, and

came with the ship "De Noteboom," 29th December, 1660, to Batavia, was appointed Predikant of Amboina, and was there till June, 1674. He returned to the Netherlands and was Predikant of Lexmond, where he died in 1706. His brother (?) born in Japan became a student at Leyden, 21st September, 1643, arrived in Batavia, 1650, and became again student at Leyden on the 26th September, 1651. It is not however certain that both these were the sons of François Caron, the Director-General."

NOTES.

Mata (Matara).

Cap Rouge. I cannot identify this.

[3] Saudry. Perhaps a misprint for Sandry, a corruption of Dondra.

Canot (canoe).

[5] Peter de Groot. Evidently Pieter de Grauuw.

[6] Sandy (Kandy ?).

[7] Don Antonio Macharetuan (Don Antonio Mascarenhas).

[8] Don Antonio Mothagalvan (Don Antonio da Mota Galvão).

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 14, 1904.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., F.R.C.I., President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on September 1, 1904.

2. Resolved the election of the following Candidate :—

Mr. R. C. Proctor, Interpreter Mudaliyár : recommended by { Frank Modder. Gerard A. Joseph.

3. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "An Account of the Preparation and Use of Arrack and Toddy," by Mudaliyár Arthur Jayawardana.

Resolved,—That Mudaliyár Jayawardana be thanked for forwarding the Paper to the Society, but he be informed that the Council regret not being able to accept it.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Mr. Isaac Augustus Rumpf," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. J. P. Lewis for report.

5. Laid on the table Circular No. 128 containing Mudaliyár W. F. Guṇawardhana's Paper entitled "A Note on Rajasinha I.," with the opinions of the gentlemen to whom the Paper was referred.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

6. Laid on the table a Paper, by Mr. T. B. Pohath Kehelpannala, entitled "A Bhumipatre granted to the Disava of Uva in Saka 1736 (1814 A.D.)," with the opinion of Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékera, to whom it was referred to for further report.

Resolved,—That in the opinion of the Council the Paper is not of sufficient interest for publication in the Society's Journal, and that it be returned to the writer, and he be thanked for forwarding it to the Society.

7. Laid on the table Circular No. 157 containing a Paper, by Mr. J. P. Lewis, entitled "Portuguese Inscriptions in Ceylon," with the opinion of Mr. H. C. P. Bell, to whom it was referred for report.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for reading and publication.

8. Considered the desirability of publishing the manuscript entitled "Journal of a Tour to Candia in the Year 1796."

Resolved,—That the publication of the manuscript do stand over until Mr. im Thurn forwards his notes and "copy." Mr. Joseph explained that a typewritten copy of the manuscript had been made for Mr. im Thurn, who had promised to forward to the Society the Paper, with notes, for publication.

9. Laid on the table a letter from Dr. W. G. Van Dort regretting his inability to accept the Vice-Presidentship.

Resolved,—That Mr. P. Freudenberg be appointed Vice-President.

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JOURNAL

OF THE

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OF THE

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1905.

VOLUME XVIII.
No. 56.

EDITED BY THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

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"Third Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company of Ceylon," by F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden 393

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General Meeting: July 17, 1905 397

Papers read :—

"Notes on the Variations of the Copper Massas of Six Siṇhalese Rulers," by John Still, Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner 398

"Note on a Dutch Medal," by F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden 408

"Notes on Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Ratnapura District (Nawadun and Kuruwiti Kóraḷés)," by Ananda K. Coomáraswámy, B.Sc. 413

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Paper read :—

"The Photography of Colour as applied to obtaining correct Colour Records of Natural History Subjects," by W. Saville-Kent, F.L.S., &c. ... 435

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NOTE.

BY unfortunate oversight the paging and numbering of the Volume were run on from Vol. XVIII., No. 55, 1904, p. 322.

Vol. XVIII., No. 56, 1905, pp. 323–450, should properly have formed the first part (pp. 1–128) of Vol. XIX.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

CEYLON BRANCH.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, January 16, 1905.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, Vice-President.

Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
Mr. A. M. Gunasékera, Mudaliyár.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A., Honorary Treasurer.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on November 14, 1904.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidates be elected a Member of the Society:—

Dr. D. Rockwood: recommended by { Dr. A. Willey. / Mr. G. A. Joseph.

3. Laid on the table Mr. F. H. de Vos's Paper entitled "Mr. Isaac Augustin Rumpf," with Mr. J. P. Lewis's opinion recorded thereon.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted with thanks; and that it be printed in the Journal.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Notes on the Variations of the Copper *massas* of six Sinhalese Rulers," by Mr. J. Still.

Resolved,—That the Paper be accepted for the Journal.

5. Read and passed the draft Annual Report for 1904.

6. Considered the nomination of Office-Bearers for 1905.

Under Rule 16 Dr. W. G. Van Dort and Mr. C. Drieberg retire from the Council by seniority, and Dr. J. C. Willis and Mr. M. Kelway Bamber by reason of least attendance, two being eligible for re-election.

Resolved,—That Dr. J. C. Willis and Mr. C. Drieberg be re-elected, and that Messrs. R. G. Anthonisz and H. F. Tomalin be elected to the vacant Memberships.

7. Resolved,—That the Annual General Meeting be held on February 6; that His Excellency the Governor be asked to preside; and that, besides the regular business, a Paper entitled "Portuguese Inscriptions in Ceylon," by Mr. J. P. Lewis, be read.

Resolved further,—That a General Meeting be held on March 4 next, and that its business be left in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries.

8. Resolved,—That Mr. J. A. Henderson be again asked to kindly undertake to audit the Society's accounts.

9. Laid again on the table Circular No. 123 of July 7, 1904, containing Mr. C. M. Fernando's Paper entitled "Ancient Swords."

MR. ISAAC AUGUSTIN RUMPF.

By F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden.

The Rumpf Family.*

The earliest known ancestor of this family was *Johannes Rumpf*, Baron of Wielross, &c., a Colonel in a regiment of Emperor Maximilian II., who died in action in the year 1566 against the Turks, leaving two sons, *Wolfgang* and *Joost Lodewyk*. *Joost Lodewyk Rumpf* was disinherited by his father and left for Hessen in 1567, where he married a Miss *von Troye*. He entered the German Army and died in 1587, leaving one son, *Johannes Rumpf*, who settled in Laasphe (Wittenstein), and married *Rebecca von Ufflen*, and had by her a son, *Herman Rumpf*, who married *Elizabeth Hoffmans*, daughter of *Caspar Hoffmans* and *Elizabeth Högner von Rösefeld*. The issue of this marriage was *Christiaan Rumpf*, born at Laasphe in 1580. He was private physician to the Count Palatine Fredrik, afterwards King of Bohemia. He died on the 24th June, 1645, at the age of 65, in the camp then under *Frederick Henry* in Flanders, as appears from the inscription round his portrait by *H. Danckerts*, which which runs as follows :—

Christianus Rompff, Lasphensis. Sereniss. Reg. Boh. ac Celciss. Araus. Princ. Archiater. Obiit in castris Fœderati Belgii XXIV. Junii anno MDCXLV., ætatis LXV.

He married on the 6th November, 1609, at Heidelberg, *Agneta de Spina* (born in Aken, died in Breda, 1649), daughter of *Petrus de Spina* and *Jutta van Pallandt*. One of the children of this marriage was *Christiaan Constantyn*

* Nederlandsche Heraut 1889, pp. 81–103 ; 1890, 250–259.

Rumpf, born in The Hague on the 7th April, 1633. According to *Jöcher* he practised at Leyden as a physician ; but he appears to have given up the practice of his profession, as in 1660 he went with the ambassador *Van Beuningen* to Paris, when, in 1663, he was appointed Private Secretary to *Willem Boreel*, the successor of *Van Beuningen*. After the death of *Boreel* he was, on the 4th October, 1668, appointed Secretary to the Legation in Paris. In the meantime, having been appointed ambassador, he remained in Paris till the 27th March, 1674, although appointed, on the 21st April, 1673, Resident at the Court of Portugal, the duties of which office he never undertook, being relieved on the 20th April, 1674, by his appointment as President at the Court of Sweden, which appointment he held until his death at Stockholm on the 2nd August, 1706. He was buried on the 5th August in the Mariakerk.

Christiaan Constantyn Rumpf was twice married—firstly, in Paris, on the 13th April, 1670, to *Elizabeth Pierrat de Longueville* (born in Metz, 1646, died in Stockholm, 9th March, 1675), daughter of Capt. *Abraham Pierrat de Longueville* and *Susanna Coulet;* and secondly, to *Anna Margarita Bex* (born in Stockholm, 6th October, 1659), daughter of *Isaac Bex* and *Sara Hovius* and sister of Dr. *Abraham Bex*, a merchant at Gottenberg. *Isaac Augustin Rumpf* was a child of the first marriage of his father, *Christiaan Constantyn Rumpf*, having been born on the 21st November, 1673 (at The Hague) according to his tombstone.* He was promoted at Leyden to the degree of Doctor of Laws, having written a thesis, which he dedicated to his father, in which he is described as "Haga-Batavus." He left for the Indies in 1707 in the ship "'t Huis te Loo" on behalf of the Chamber Amsterdam, with the rank of Onderkoopman, and succeeded *Hendrik Bekker*, at the end of the year 1716, as Governor of Ceylon. He was married to *Gysberta Johanna Blesius*† (baptized in

* Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 228, 2 *Ceylon Literary Register*, 118.

† Kaapsche Geslachtlysten (De Villiers).

the Cape, 23rd June, 1686), daughter of *Johannes Blesius* of Breukelen, Fiscal of the Cape (died 1711), and *Christina Diemer*, and grand-daughter of *Dominicus Blesius*, Predikant at Breukelen, and *Gysberta van Baerle*, and had by her a daughter, *Susanna* (died 25th October, 1729), who married at Amboina, 2nd May, 1717, *Harmen Maarten Graswinckel* (born 1st May, 1691, died 22nd February, 1736), Fiscal of the West Coast of Sumatra. *Johannes Blesius* had two more daughters, viz., (1) *Deliana* (baptized at the Cape, 29th November, 1693), married *Cornelis van Beaumont** and (2) *Christina* (baptized at the Cape, 24th September, 1690), the wife of *Jacobus Cruse*, whose son, *Johannes Jacobus Cruse* (and therefore *Rumpf's* nephew), was the chief mourner at the Governor's funeral.

In Mrs. A. P. Trotter's "Old Cape Colony" (Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd., 1903) there is at p. 252 a sketch of the arms of one "Joan Blesius, obiit 7th April, 1771, ætatis suæ 55 anno." He must therefore have been a nephew of *Rumpf* and son of either *Elbert Blesius* (born 1689) or *Dominicus Blesius* (born 1691). The arms consist of a quartered shield, each quartering charged with a spade placed palewise, blade downwards, with a demi-lion as a crest, but no colours are indicated.

Johannes Jacobus Cruse (born in the Cape) was married in Colombo, 22nd May, 1735, to *Gertruida Brengman* of Jaffna, widow of *Daniel Overbeek*, Commandeur of Galle.†

The Death and Funeral of Mr. Isaac Augustin Rumpf.

Valentyn‡ says that *Rumpf* died of the shock he received on hearing of the murder of the Fiscal *Barent van der Zwaan* in Colombo by his slaves. He proceeds to give an account, received from Ceylon, of the funeral of *Rumpf*, of which the following is a translation from the Dutch, with my annotations in brackets :—

The Hon. Mr. *Isaac Augustin Rumpf*, Ordinary Councillor of the Dutch Indies, Governor and Director of the

* Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 18.

† Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.) vol. XV., No. 49, p. 251

‡ Byzondere Zaaken van Ceylon, p. 359.

Island of Ceylon and the Coast of Madura, with the dependencies thereof, having died in Colombo on the 11th June (1723), a little after 9 P.M., his funeral was solemnized in terms of the Resolution of the Political Council in the manner following.

The following day all the bells of the Fort were rung from 8 to 9 A.M., from 11 to 12 midday, and from 4 to 5 P.M., and thus kept up till the 18th, and yesterday the body of His Excellency was buried with the following honours.

From 6 A.M. the bells were rung every half hour till the funeral ceremonies commenced, when they were rung without ceasing until the termination of the ceremony. At 2.30 P.M. there fell in the Military, Burgher corps, and Lascoreens on the parade ground in front of the bastion "Amsterdam" by the side of the Fort, where they were drawn up in order whilst the procession was got in readiness, and the march to the church began in the following order :—

I.—Twelve *randjes* of Lascoreens in single file according to the Singalese manner on each side of the procession with their chiefs, drummers, trumpetters, and ensigns, all in mourning, with black streamers to their lances. In front the Burgher corps with arms, 72 strong, all with mourning bands, with two drums covered with crape and the colours, lances, halberds, and belts of the officers in black.

II.—Three companies of the military each 72 strong, told off into squads of six men each in two divisions under the command of the Lieutenants—

Adrian Noe,
Hendrik Gabriel Dykman, and
Rudolph Carel van Glaar (*sic*) (*Glan*) ; and the Ensigns
Adriaan Stafferts,
Kooymans,
Leonard Koningshoven, and
Sr. Kumel,

brought up the rear, all provided with mourning bands and belts, the standard and the halberds and the drums, six in

number, covered with crape, all, according to military usage with arms reversed.

[*Adrian Noe* was a native of Ghent, and came out to the Indies on the ship "Lands Welvaren." He was thrice married—(1) in 1703 to *Catharina Stern* of Colombo ; (2) in 1706 to *Anna Baak* of Colombo ; and (3) after 1725 to *Maria Elizabeth Shornen.*

Hendrik Gabriel Dykman was married to *Anna Gast* of Colombo, daughter of *Barent Gast* of Delft and *Francina Eggers* of Colombo, and widow of *Isaac Quettyn* of Hoorn.

Rudolph Carel van Glan was a native of East Friesland, and was married to *Johanna Maria Valck.*

Adriaan Stafferts was most likely the son of *Johannes Stafferts* of The Hague, Superintendent of the Cinnamon Department, by his second wife, *Anna de Heyde.*

.... *Kooymans* was perhaps the son of *Raphael Kooymans* of Twente.

Leonard Koningshoven was a native of Winterburg, and married in 1719 *Cornelia Pegalotte* of Colombo.]

III.—Five hautboyists with mourning bands on their hats and black streamers on their hautboys, stopped up from under, blowing a dirge-like march.

IV.—The body-guard of the aforesaid His Excellency consisting of 72 hand grenadiers, all with mourning bands on their caps, commanded by the Lieutenant.

Hendrik Fredrik van Gent,

[A native of Vianen, was thrice married—(1) to...........; (2) in 1705 to *Petronella de Rees* of Trincomalee ; and (3) in 1724 to *Clara Schokman* of Colombo.]

The standard carried by the Sergeant-in-command.

Hendrik Jansz Vos.

with six drummers in mourning as above, four trumpetters with streaming mourning bands with their *clarynen* in the trumpets and the banderoles covered with crape.

V.—The steward of His Excellency, *Martin van der Burgt*, with a trailing cloak and hanging mourning band.

VI.—The led-horse of His Excellency in black, covered with black cloth reaching, the ground, being led by the master of the horse, *Gerrit Hendriksz*, and His Excellency's coachman, *Juriaan Juriaansz*, with trailing mourning crape.

VII.—Another led-horse with black serge reaching the ground led by two grooms in black with trailing mourning bands.

VIII.—The regimental staff mounted at both ends with copper-gilt tops covered with black velvet, and carried by Lieutenant *Dorsman* in black with trailing mourning band.

[*Wouter Christoffel Dorsman* was married (1) in 1693 to *Elizabeth Zolders* of Colombo and (2) to *Elizabeth Coenraads*.]

IX.—The standard born by the Ensign *Pieter Mazot*.

X.—The helmet by the Onderkoopman *Willem van Wynbergen*.

XI.—The gauntlets by the Onderkoopman *Calkberner*.

XII.—The spurs by the Onderkoopman *Gerrit Falk* (*Valck*).

[*Gerrit Valck* of Colombo (perhaps the son of *Adriaan Valck*) was married (1) in 1709 to *Anna Pegalotte* and (2) in 1730 to *Francina van Geyzel*.]

XIII.—The sword in its scabbard by the Chief Clerk *Thomas Thermaddi*.

XIV.—The tabard by the Ensign *Andries Swarts*.

[A native of Stockholm, married in 1714 to *Elizabeth Schouwers* of Colombo.]

XV.—The bare sword, at the carry, by the Ensign *Dirk Pieter Beekman*, all in mourning with mourning bands.

[A native of Nimwegen, married in 1718 to *Adriana Margarita Beekman* of Colombo, born in 1701, daughter of the Ensign *Jan Beekman* and *Catharina Loos*.]

XVI.—Eight inviters to the burial.

XVII.—The arms of His Excellency* carried by the Onderkoopman *Willem Anderson*.

* Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 229.

[Perhaps *Willem* (*Lodewyk*) *Anderson*, born in Colombo 1697, son of *Swem Anderson* of Stockholm and *Agnita Stuart.*]

XVIII.—The coffin covered with a black cloth surplice, hung on both sides from the top reaching the ground, with eight quarterings of His Excellency's family, carried by 24 corporals under the shroud which was held up by the under-merchants.

Marcus Visboom,
Cornelis Woomans de Vriest,
The Harbour-master, *Nicolaas Hoepels*,
The Commander of the Hottentots, *Dirk Mauritz*,
The Assistant to the Fiscal, *Jan Hendrik Speelder*,
The Governor of Edam, *Jacob de Koning*,
The Chief of the Iron Magazine, *Magnus Scot*,
The Superintendent of the same, *Fredrik Sleverts* (*Sieverts*),
The Chief of the Ships' Carpenters, *Bastiaan Fredrik Wilhelm*(*i*),
The Chief of the Smiths' Shops, *Hans Visser*, and
The Chief of the Masons, *Hendrik Jacolyn*.

[*Marcus Visboom* was born in Colombo in 1687 and married to *Cornelia van Wynbergen*. He was the son of *Johannes Visboom* of Amsterdam, Commissioner of the Arecanut Department, and *Anna Margarita Mazius* of Cochin.

Cornelis de Vriest was married to *Alida de Haan*.

Nicolaas Hoepels was the son of *Antony Hoepels* and *Abigail Cromstrys* and grandson of *Nicolaas Hoepels* of Stockholm and *Maria de Silva*.

Dirk Mauritz, a native of Bergen, was married in 1711 to *Anna Feit* of Colombo.

Magnus Scot was born in Colombo in 1683, and was the son of *Claas Scot* of Hamburg and *Sara de Meestre* of Colombo. He was married to *Elizabeth Abrahamsz*.

Fredrik Sievertsz was a native of Bremen, and was married in Colombo, 1711, to *Catharina Heydelberg* of Colombo.

Bastiaan (*Fredrik? Jurgen?*) *Wilhelmi* was a native of Mecklenburg, and was married to *Susanna Jonker* of Colombo, widow of *Fredrik Wevels*, apothecary.]

On either side of the aforesaid bearers there went the following shroud-bearers who held up the four ends of the black cloth shroud, all in mourning:—

The Koopman *Abraham Torin*,
The Ship-captain *Jan Joppe Kroeff*,
The Onderkoopman *Jan Arnold Wiggelhuyzen*, and
The Onderkoopman *Daniel Schooter*.

[*Abraham Torin* was a native of Rouen and married in 1708 to *Elizabeth Staffords* of Colombo.]

XIX.—Behind the coffin there followed His Excellency's nephew, *Johannes Jacobus Cruse*, and the Commandeur *Arnout Moll*,* one behind the other, with long mourning bands and trailing cloaks, and thereafter, in pairs, the Members of the Political Council, with trailing cloaks and mourning bands, the Reverend Predikanten, the Pangerangh *Aria Pourbaya*, the Members of the Civil Council, the Masters of the Orphan Chamber, the Commissioners of Marriage Causes, the elders and brother-deacons, all with cloaks. Thereafter all the Company's servants and Burghers, together with the principal native chiefs, all with mourning veils round their body. The procession went past the watch Leyden, along the canal, and through the so-called Bier street as far as the church, where the military and Burgher corps were drawn up in two ranks, through which the body was carried to the church, where it was lowered on to iron staves in a vault, after which three volleys were fired by the military, and after each volley a cannon was fired, after which all the guns in the Fort were fired at intervals of a minute, which was followed by firing from all the guns

* Journal, R.A.S. (C.B.), vol. XV., No. 49, p. 257.

and rifles in the sloops lying in the roads, which carried their flags and jacks half-mast high. After the body was let down into the grave, and the ornaments carried, were, together with the black cloth shroud, left close to, and in the chancel, the Military, Burgher corps, and Lascoreens returned with flying colours and sounding drums, and were followed by the procession in the same order in which they went to church, only with this difference, that the bearers brought up the rear of the procession which repaired to the house of mourning to offer their condolence to the Lady of the late Governor.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, February 6, 1905.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Mr. J. C. Willis, M.A., Sc.D., F.L.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on January 16, 1905.

2. Read a letter from Mr. H. C. P. Bell dated January 20, 1905, in regard to reprints of back Numbers of the Society's Journal and Proceedings.

Resolved,—That the Council's resolution of October 8, 1903, be rescinded, and that the question of publication of future reprints be left, as before, in the hands of the Honorary Secretaries and Treasurer.

3. Considered a vacancy on the Council, and nominated Dr. W. H. de Silva.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

"Sirinivasa" (Mr. P. Freudenberg's Residence), Colombo, February 6, 1905.

Present :

His Excellency Sir H. A. Blake, G.C.M.G., Patron, in the Chair.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President.

Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P., Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.
Mr. T. Berwick.
Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. A. K. Coomáraswámy, B.Sc.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. F. J. de Mel, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Mr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C.M., F.R.C.S.
Mr. Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
The Hon. G. M. Fowler, C.M.G.
Mr. C. J. M. Gordon, M.A.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Mr. R. M. John.
Mr. G. B. Leechman.
Mr. P. C. MacMahon.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin, F.R.I.B.A.
Mr. G. E. S. S. Weerakoon, Mudaliyár.
Rev. D. J. W. Wijésiṉha.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.
Mr. J. C. Willis, M.A., Sc.D.

Mr. J. Harward. M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph,

Honorary Secretaries.

Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A., Honorary Treasurer.

Visitors : Twelve ladies and twenty-three gentlemen.

Business.

1. The Minutes of the last General Meeting held on September 7 last, were read and confirmed.

2. Mr. Harward read the—

ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1904.

The Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society have the honour to submit the following Report for the year 1904 :—

Meetings and Papers.

Three General Meetings of this Society have been held during the year, at which the following Papers were read and discussed :—

(1) "A Note on the Palæography of Ceylon," by Mr. C. M. Fernando, B.A., LL.M.

(2) "Correspondence between Rája Siŋha II. and the Dutch," by Mr. D. W. Ferguson.
(3) "Alakéswara: His Life and Times," by Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.

Besides the above, an Address entitled "The Use of Science in Ceylon" was delivered by the Hon. Mr. E. F. im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., President, at the last Annual General Meeting.

The following Papers have been accepted for reading and publication :—

(1) "François Caron and the French East India Company," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law.
(2) "A Note on Rája Siŋha I.," by Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár.
(3) "Portuguese Inscriptions in Ceylon" (with illustrations) by Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S.

Translation of "de Couto" and "Barros."

Mr. D. W. Ferguson, now in England, has been entrusted with the work of making a translation, with introduction and notes, of such portions of the Portuguese historians Barros and de Couto as relate to Ceylon.

Members.

During the past year fourteen new Members were elected, viz., Rev. A. Stanley Bishop, P. de Abrew, J. E. Seneviratna, E. Evans, B.Sc., Simon de Silva, Gate Mudaliyár, C. J. M. Gordon, M.A., G. W. Woodhouse, B.A., C.C.S., T. P. Masilamanipillai, T. P. Attygalle, R. J. Perera, K. W. Atukorala, E. F. A. Kemp, J. M. Weerasuriya, and R. C. Proctor.

The following Members have resigned :—D. J. Arsecularatna, W. R. H. Perera, J. W. Vanderstraaten, L. Walker, F. M. Mackwood, C. A. Murray, and R. B. Campbell.

Mr. S. G. Lee, B.A., has become a Life Member.

The Society has now on its roll 193 Members, including 27 Life Members and 10 Honorary Members.

It has lost by death Dullewa Adigar, who had been a Member of the Society since 1890.

Library.

The additions to the Library, including parts of Periodicals, numbered 384.

The Library has received donations from the Government of India; the Archæological Survey of India; the Government of Bengal; Sir R. C. Temple, Bart., C.I.E.; Páli Text Society, London; L' Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient revue Philologique; the Ceylon Government; Curepo de Ingenieros de Minas del Peru; the University of Colorado; Revista da Commissao Archeologica da India Portugueza, Nova Goa; the Archæological Survey of United Provinces and Punjab Circle; the Geelong Field Naturalists' Club; the Colonial Secretary, Ceylon; the Director of Public Instruction, Ceylon; the Postmaster-General, Ceylon; Dr. E. Hultszh, Ph. D.; Secretary of State for India, in Council; Naturforehenden Gessellschaft in Zurich; C. M. Fernando M.A., LL.M.; T. P. Pillai; the Imperial Library, Calcutta; Mr. Victor Henry; Mr. Lynds Jones; Dr. A. Carroll, M.A. D.Sc.; the

Linguistic Survey of India ; Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle ; Victoria Public Library of Western Australia ; Archæological Survey of Madras and Coorg ; Secretary to Government of India ; Mr. H. R. Nevill, I.C.S. ; Dr. H. Ethe, Ph. D., M.A. ; Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S. ; Mr. F. R. Schuller ; the Government Oriental MS. Library of Madras ; Archæological Survey of Western India.

For valuable exchanges received during the year the Society is indebted to: the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia ; the Anthropological Society of Bombay ; Tijdchriftvoor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde, Batavia ; the Royal University of Upsala ; the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia ; the Smithsonian Institute, U.S.A. ; the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S. ; the Buddhist Text Society of India ; U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. ; U. S. Geological Survey, U.S.A. ; the Field Columbian Museum ; the State Archives, Netherlands ; the Bureau of Education, U.S.A. ; Anthropologische Gessellchaft, Berlin ; Batavia-asch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia ; Deutschen Morgenladischen Sessellchaft Leipzig, Germany ; the American Oriental Society ; the Royal Society of New South Wales, Australia ; the California Academy of Sciences, San Fransisco, U.S.A. ; La Societé Imperiale Des Naturalistes de Moscow, Russia ; the Asiatic Society of Japan ; the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland ; the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; K. K. Naturhistorischen Hopmuseums, Austria ; Musee Guimet, Paris ; Societé Zoologique, Paris ; John Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A. ; the Geological Society of London ; the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland ; the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada ; the Royal Colonial Institute, London ; the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ; the Royal Society of Victoria, Australia ; Koninklijk Instituit voor de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie, Holland ; the Royal Geographical Society of Australia ; the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Accommodation.

The Council wish to direct particular attention to the want of accommodation for the Library, which has been repeatedly pointed out in preceding Annual Reports during the past seventeen years.

The want of room for the proper housing of books is severely felt. All the book-cases are quite full ; and there is no room available for more cases. At present many valuable publications are stored away in different portions of the Museum building, as there is no room available for keeping the books in the Society's Library. The Library is not capable of expansion, and its usefulness is crippled by want of accommodation.

In view of the congested condition of the Libraries of the Society and Museum, the Council trust that provision will be made by Government shortly to admit of the carrying out of the long-contemplated extension of the Colombo Museum.

Journal.

One number of the Journal was published during the year (Vol. XVIII., No. 54, 1903). It contains, in addition to the Proceedings of the Council and the Annual General Meeting, the following Papers :—

(1) " Two Ola Grants of the Seventeenth Century," by Mr. T. B. Pohath.

(2) "An Account of King Kirti Ṣrí Rája Sin̥ha's Embassy to Siam in 1672 Saka (1750 A.D.)," translated from the Sin̥halese by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

(3) Memorandum by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist, regarding a Stone Slab at Elie House, Mutwal.

(4) "Second Supplementary Paper on the Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company of Ceylon," by Mr. F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law.

(5) "Dramatic Poetry and Literature of the Sin̥halese," by Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.

(6) "Three Funerals of Ceylon Dutch Officials in the Eighteenth Century," translated from the Dutch, and annotated, by Mr. F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law.

(7) "Notes on a Dutch Medal," by Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.

(8) A Note by Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, Government Archivist, on Mr. de Vos's Paper.

(9) Remarks by Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka on Mr. W. A. de Silva's Paper.

ARCHÆOLOGY.

The Archæological Commissioner favours the Council with the following summary of the work done by the Archæological Survey during 1904:—

I.—*Anurádhapura.*

(*a*) *Jungle clearing.*—The usual sum of Rs. 3,000 was again placed in the hands of the Archæological Commissioner for the purpose.

Only a portion of the work was given on contract, as in 1903. The experiment of employing labour, under close supervision, in thoroughly rooting out jungle and weeds was continued, with the success anticipated.

Though such action necessarily involves slow work and apparently undue expense, the policy is undoubtedly sound. The complete uprooting of bushes and plants, especially before these seed, will gradually free the ground of all growth but grass. Contract work, be it never so clean on the surface, merely removes the evil temporarily.

The areas dealt with last year were chiefly the Abhayagiriya and Jétawanaráma reservations, and Puliyankulama. Besides these, clearing was done at ruins below Bassawakkulam and Tissavewa.

At Mihintalé the ruins at the foot of Mihintalé-kanda, at Rajagirilena, and at Kaludiya-pokuna were cleared after an interval of ten years.

The Toluwila area (some 62 acres) was also cleared, *pari passu* with further removal of earth, and parking of the extensive ancient monastery at that site. The cost was borne by the Archæological vote.

Altogether some 315 acres were freed of weeds and undergrowth at an average cost of about Rs. 9·50.

(*b*) *Excavations.*—By order of the Government no new excavations were attempted in 1904. The proximity of the railway station and the construction of a cross approach road uniting the Trincomalee and Ayton roads through the ruins of Toluvila rendered it advisable to open up this extensive ancient *Sanghâráma*, or Buddhist monastery, more thoroughly. The ruins are situated in forest, and the closeness of the trees, with the scrub jungle which annually springs up, shut out all view of the buildings as a whole.

In several respects the Toluvila Monastery stands unrivalled among the ruins of Anurádhapura yet dealt with. Succintly, the general plan of these ruins may be thus described :—

On the north a spacious raised quadrangle with four entrance porches (*doraṭu*) and a moulded ramp of cut stone supporting alternately brick elephants (heads and front legs) and pilasters in high relief. This enclosure contains four shrines—viháré, *waṭa-dá-gé*, dágaba, and *pilima-gé*.

From this quadrangle runs, for some 250 yards or more, a wide street between low walls of dressed stone. Off this street on either hand, lying in double rows, well apart and separated by streets parallel with the central thoroughfare, are many *piriven*, each with its own outhouse and lavatory.

Passing over a smaller raised quadrangle and a half-way halting place, star-shaped—both open and approachable by steps from all sides—the main street reaches, on the south, another and larger quadrangular area.

Within this southern quadrangle is a smaller enclosure at a higher level, containing a central terraced viháré flanked by four *piriven* and other connected buildings with their accessories.

In 1895-1896 the monastery was excavated as far as the limited Archæological vote justified, having regard to rapid progress. The superincumbent earth was removed from all the ruins—nearly a hundred buildings—by trenches run round their basements. This partial excavation, whilst it permitted of each ruin being studied in itself, left the surrounding earth—the accretion of centuries—undug, rendering a comprehensive view of the ruins impossible.

Last year, under Government sanction, the heavy task of removing all the intermediate earth between the ruins in the southern quadrangle and the *piriven* lying to the west of the central street was undertaken and nearly completed. At the same time the forest was thinned out and parked.

This tedious but desirable double work has vastly improved the appearance of the ruins *pro tanto* and made them easily accessible from the new road to the Railway Station.

The further opening out of the monastery, round its north-west side, will be continued gradually as soon as the Archæological vote (temporarily reduced by Rs. 10,000) is again capable of bearing the cost.

II.—*Polonnáruwa.*

As at Anurádhapura, the Archæological Survey virtually "marked time" in excavations at the later capital.

The earth spoil round the rubble revetment of the raised quadrangle containing the so-called Thúpaárama, Waṭa-dá-gé, Sat-mal-prásada, &c., was partly removed on the west.

To the south of the ancient city some clearing was done near the rock-cut figure adjoining the tank bund. This erect figure has been hitherto strangely described as a statue of King Prákrama Báhu. Cut from the live rock, it stands 11 ft. 6 in. Clad only in a loin cloth and tall head dress, wearing no ornaments, heavy in features, with beard long and grizzled, the figure possesses no single trait of that "divinity which doth hedge a king." The roll, or ola book, held in both hands, and the whole appearance and pose, manifessly stamp the figure as representing some aged fakir or religious teacher.

No inscription, or other clue, has been found to identify the statue South of the statue some 200 yards, and within its direct purview, is situated a ruin known as the "Potgul Vehera" (Library Dágaba). The surface ornamentation of the ruin resembles that of the Hindu Déválés of Polonnaruwa. But its unique feature is the circular room at back, once domed, on the interior walls of which still exist traces of painting.

This part of the ruin was gutted some years ago by villagers working under the orders of the late Giránegama, Diyawada Nilamé; and has been left since exposed to the very foundations.

Sígiriya.

The summit of the Rock and the traces below it to the north-west and south-west were cleared of scrub and weeds as in previous years.

The only new excavations carried out were :—

(*a*) The tracing of the ancient gate-way through the *vil-bẹmma*, or earthen ramp, of the city at the point where the present path to Piduragala pansala passes through it.

(*b*) Below, and north of, the *maḷuwa* at the foot of the ladders to the summit, eighteen-inch-mortice holes in the flat rock and deep cut "sets" in the vertical rock face of the *maḷuwa's* verge, point to the former existence here of a spacious portico and wide wooden staircase from the city. The foundations of this erection were laid bare.

II.—*Restoration of Ruins.*

As the result of continued representation a special annual grant of Rs. 5,000 has at length been sanctioned for the preservation and restoration of the Island's antiquities.

Last year this sum was expended at Sígiriya, Polonnaruwa, and Yâpahuwa.

Sígiriya.

(*a*) *Gallery.*—The retaining wall and last stairway of the "gallery" have been finally united to the *maḷuwa* on the north side of the Rock. From the iron bridge to the terrace this fine staircase has some 70 continuous steps, save for one short landing.

The ascent to the summit of Sígiri-gala is now possible along the whole length of the "gallery" as far as the northern terrace, the half-way point where the serpentine "gallery" originally struck upwards through the lion-shaped guard-house.

(*b*) Much of the deep stone-faced western revetment of the confined area below the "gallery," and between the north-west corner of the Rock and the so-called "Prison Rock," had long been washed down the hill side, leaving the small terrace, containing the remains of an interesting set of Buddhist monks' cells, in constant danger of disappearing similarly.

To save it half of the huge ramp has again been laboriously built up in dry stone masonry collected from this and other ruined retaining walls

(*c*) *Fresco Pockets.*—Preliminary work was started in 1901 having for its ultimate object the permanent protection of the unique "frescoes" in the Rock "pocket" caves against the ravages of birds and bees. Suitable wire netting when fixed in position, whilst warding off these destructive pests, will not mar the view of the paintings.

The carrying out of this eminently desirable work involved very great difficulty, owing to the dangerous position of the "pockets." in the Rock cliff above the "gallery" and the irregularity of their confirmation.

In 1903 all difficulties were at length overcome in the case of the larger ("B") of the two united fresco "pockets." In this cave a concrete bed has been laid with a iron hand rail at the edge, iron standards let into the rock floor and roof, and wire netting stretched across.

The smaller "pocket" ("A") is far less accessible. It is being somewhat similarly protected; but the fixing of the ironwork and netting is attended with even greater difficulty and danger than already experienced.

This last season (1904) half of the bridge gangway and framing for the wire-netting were fixed outside the ledge between the two "pockets" and along the front of "pocket" "A." This essential work should be finally completed next year.

Polonnaruwa.

(*a*) "*Thúpáráma*" *Viháré.*—Last year (1903) the Archæological Commissioner reported to the Government the dangerous condition of this fine ruin, recommending that a special report in detail should be called for from the Public Works Department without delay.

This ancient viháré, built massively of brick and mortar, is one of the most striking structures remaining above ground at this old capital of Ceylon.

It is unique in being (as far as known) the only ancient monument left with the roof almost intact.

The viháré roof inside is in design an irregular stilted dome falsely arched. On the top of the structure the roof is flattish with a very heavy square-shaped tower rising at the centre.

The ruin is now in a very critical state. There are three vertical cracks in the back wall, and a part of this wall and of the roof it held up have fallen inwards. Two other vertical cracks run down the front wall of the inner shrine, one on either side of the doorway, of which the stone lintal are both cracked through. There are further cracks in the vestibule.

The most ominous crack exists along the whole of the shrine roof at the apex of the dome. Owing to the wonderful strength of the ancient mortar this crack would not, perhaps in itself, give cause for immediate alarm. But the weight of the solid tower superstructure is so great that a sudden and total collapse of the entire roof over the shrine may occur at any moment. In any case it cannot be long before the roof falls in bodily, unless prompt and effective action is taken to support, and otherwise strengthen, the roof and walls of the building.

Mr. Acland, Provincial Engineer, North-Central Province, visited Polonnaruwa and furnished the Government with a full report on the structure, accompanied by a set of large and carefully executed architectural drawings made by Mr. W. M. Fernando, Draughtsman of the

Archæological Survey, and by photographs supplied by the Archæological Commissioner.

The whole of the *débris* on the top of the building down to the flat wall round the box-like superstructure in the centre was removed just before the close of last season (1903), and all cracks provisionally filled at the top so as to keep out the rain for another year.

This year (1904) cracks are being strongly filled up from the bottom, or, where this is not possible owing to their narrowness, grouted with liquid cement.

The entire top and walls of the building have also been temporarily freed of vegetation. This was slow and difficult work, as several small trees had driven their roots into the brickwork, to which they clung with the greatest tenacity.

By these precautions the life of "Thúpáráma" Viháré may be preserved for some years more. But its ultimate fall is inevitable; unless the roof and back wall are once more united and the roof strongly supported. The fall of a roof so massive will not be gradual. Its weight is immense: when it falls it will collapse bodily; and in its subsidence bring away a great deal of the side walls. This has already happened at the larger "Jétawanáráma" Viháré.

In view of the very real and imminent risk of further delay to this unique roofed viháré the immediate rebuilding from the foundations of the greatly ruined inner face of the back wall was commenced by the Archæological Survey Department on the original lines.

This work, so far as carried out, has been done with the greatest care and in the strongest and safest fashion. At the close of work for the year in September the whole structure was roofed in temporarily with jungle sticks, and *ramba* grass thatch, to protect it entirely against the north-east monsoon rains.

(*b*) *Waṭa-dá-gé.*—The "*Waṭa-dá-gé*" is unrivalled as the most beautiful specimen of Buddhistic stone architecture existing in Ceylon.

Upon a circular *maḷuwa*, or platform, (4 ft. 8 in. in height and about 370 ft. in circumference), granite-faced and paved throughout, stands a structure, also circular and 75 ft. in diameter, as bold in conception as chaste in its execution.

The stylobate, or basement, (5½ ft. high) is faced with moulded plinth, "bull nose," and coping, relieved by two broad bands separated by a bold double cyma torus. These block dados bear figured panels in low relief—the lower, lions passant guardant, the upper, dwarfs in ever-varying posture, &c., both alternating with pilasters.

The coping surface has a narrow gangway, upon which rises a parapet wall of stone slabs, ornamented in flower and trellis work patterns joining up a ring of 32 slender octagonal pillars with spreading capitals, 8 ft. 6 in. in height. To each quadrant formed by the four cardinal doorways into the interior part of the shrine are eight of these short columns. Close behind this parapet is a tall brick wall.

The only entrance to the lower *maḷuwa* of the "*Waṭa-dá-gé*" was through a rectangular portico, bayed and recessed, projecting on the north.

Within the brick wall (which mars much of the picturesqueness of

the structure, and may be of later addition) at the centre of the inner paved *maluwa* is a small dágaba (28 ft. in diameter) surrounded by two concentric ranges of pillars (16 and 20 respectively, all broken) similar to those on the basement gang-way. To some degree these pillars recall the columns of "Laṇkárama" Dágaba at Anurádhapura. They sustained a roof to shelter worshippers inside the shrine and round its basement.

The shrine is entered on the four cardinal sides by granite stairs, 7 ft. in width, of which the steps, balustrades, terminals, and moonstones are freely ornamented with carved figures—dwarfs, makaras, lions, and *Nágá dwárapalas.*

Facing the doorways, on moulded *ásana*, were once four large sedent Buddhas, also in granite.

In 1903 the whole ruin (outer and inner *malu*) was freed of the earth *débris* and trees under which it lay half-buried. Around the dágaba (showing only as a low grass covered mound until exhumed) were unearthed the capitals and broken pillars, which once stood erect around it, besides fragments of the four massive images and the stone *ásana* belonging to them. Twelve subsidiary brick *ásana* for smaller images were also exposed against the dágaba base.

Before the end of that season the circular retaining wall of the lower *maluwa* was reset temporarily, as far as practicable without proper tackle. After the shrine itself has been restored, this outermost revetment should be relaid from the foundations; for it has in places been pushed out of the true round by tree roots and the weathering of centuries.

Last year (1904) with masons at work and proper plant, the permanent restoration of the upper basement of the "*Waṭa-dá-gé*" was seriously taken in hand.

Commencing at the northern stairs on the *maluwa* the resetting of the stonework has been carried simultaneously round the north-east and north-west quadrants.

Of the four side stairways, the northern and eastern have been perfectly restored; as well as the semi-circular pediment of the stylobate from the eastern stairs to within a few feet of those on the west, the point where the basement of the ruin was found to be most broken.

The northern stairs were in very good order, considering the period that has elapsed since Polonnaruwa was abandoned. It was necessary only to lower, and replace, the balustrades after freeing the interstices between them and the steps of vegetation. The "moonstone" at the foot of this flight of steps is an exquisite piece of stone carving.

On the other hand, the eastern steps (including the moonstone) had sunk and were much awry. They had to be taken down from top to bottom, and disclosed a gaping hollow (due to years of percolation of rain water) running far back under the pavement of the upper platform. This must ere long have wrecked that side wholly. The hollow has been filled with concrete, and the stairs carefully relaid level, step by step from the "moonstone" upwards.

The resetting of the ruined stone pediment along the two quadrants so far touched (north-east and north-west), has been attended with more difficulty than was at first anticipated. Throughout, the two uppermost members (coping and dado of dwarfs)—and at several points more—of the revetment, which was loose even if not quite shifted

had to be removed in order that the vegetation which had taken root in the old pebble concrete filling behind might be dug out. Many stones had fallen on the *maluwa*. Fresh concrete was laid, and the stones of each course replaced one by one. Every pillar of the two quadrants (some broken in two or three pieces from toppling over on to the platform below) were carefully dowelled—delicate work owing to their slenderness—lifted, and re-erected in their original position. It may be possible ultimately to replace a small proportion of the ornamental capitals. As a start, the pillars flanking the northern entrance have already been thus finished off.

The ornamental parapet slabs were also replaced, except close to the west stairs which must first be reset. Some had suffered greatly and had to be laboriously pieced together.

The other two quadrants (south-east and south-west), now choked with vegetation, will be similarly restored in time.

The undulating, and displaced, pavement slabs of the *maluwa* platform were also dealt with. About one-fourth was levelled and relaid last season.

Everywhere all joints have been pointed in cement so as to prevent the fresh growth of insidious vegetation.

Finally, two more of the four large granite Buddhas have been excellently reset. The deliberate destruction of these images by Tamil iconoclasts in old days had left not one single member whole. From such pieces as could be found—a score or more in each case—the figures have been renewed piece by piece to exact size.

Inasmuch as these four images form an integral part of the original design of the shrine their restoration was most desirable.

The three Buddhas already restored (north, south, and west) have fully justified the great patience, pains, and plastic skill Mr. Fernando has personally expended upon them. Their present appearance adds greatly to the true character and picturesque elegance of this magnificent relic of the glories of Polonnaruwa in the thirteenth century.

Yapahuwa.

Yápahuá-kanda, or "Subha-pabatta," was founded in the thirteenth century, during the usurpation of Mágha, by Subha Senapati, a noble, who fortified himself on the hill bringing thither the Daladá relic. The city was captured, and the sacred relic carried off to Madura by Kulasekera Rájá, of Pandi.

A gigantic boulder rising abruptly from the plain ; a substantial bund starting from one side of the boulder, running into it on the other and enclosing a considerable area, leaving a precipitous side of rock exposed on the outside as a natural protection, affords a general idea of the city of Yápahuwa.

Three staircases led up to the Palace or *Máligáwa*. Of these, the highest consists of thirty-five steps flanked by heavy balustrades, and profusely ornamented with wonderfully carved figures. At the summit is a narrow terrace, from which a grand doorway gives entrance to the so-called palace itself. This is of no great size.

This ruined topmost flight of steps, as well as part of the building surmounting it, were rebuilt in 1886 by Mr. A. E. Williams of the Public Works Department under orders of Sir A. H. Gordon, then Governor.

In March last (1904) the Government Agent, North-Western Province, reported to Government that three courses of the cut stones on the western side of the last flight of steps to the "Daḷadá Máligáwa" had sunk in such a way as to endanger the safety of the stone lion and the rest of the carved portion of the steps on that side, if not speedily repaired.

The Public Works Department furnished a report and an estimate for repairing the staircase. The work was finished in the course of the year at a cost of Rs. 640.

A small sum was also spent at Yapahuwa in clearing the jungle around the ruins.

COUNCIL.

Two Members of the Council of 1903, viz., Messrs. S. M. Burrows and W. P. Raṇasiṇha, having been deemed to have retired in accordance with Rule 16, the vacancies in the Council were filled by Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., and Mr. P. Rámanáthan, C.M.G., K.C. Mr. P. Freudenberg, a Member of the Council, was appointed a Vice-President in place of the Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., who was appointed President.

HONORARY TREASURERSHIP.

The office of Honorary Treasurer was filled by Mr. R H. Ferguson, B.A., in February, in succession to Mr. F. C. Roles, resigned. Mr. Roles filled the office of Honorary Treasurer of the Society with ability for eleven years, and the Society is indebted to him for discharging the duties of that office so efficiently for that period.

The Council regret that Mr. H. C. P. Bell, who was Honorary Secretary of the Society for twenty-four years, and who so ably edited the Journals of the Society during that period, resigned in February last. The Council wish to place on record the valuable services rendered in various ways by Mr. Bell to the Society, and trust he may be persuaded to again become an Honorary Secretary and continue to place at the disposal of the Society his experience and knowledge.

PRESIDENTSHIP.

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., the senior Vice-President, was appointed President in succession to the Hon. Mr. E. F. im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, who left the Island in September. At a General Meeting of the Society held on September 7 last, the following resolution was passed :—

"That the Members of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, while offering their congratulations to the Hon. Mr. Everard im Thurn, M.A., C.B., C.M.G., on his appointment as Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, wish to place on record their regret that he is obliged to resign the office of President of this Society, and their gratitude for the constant interest which he has taken in its work."

FINANCES.

The receipts during the past year amounted to Rs. 3,123·13, compared with Rs. 2,316·88 in 1903. The balance at the beginning of 1904 was Rs. 931·77. The closing balance was Rs. 1,711·97, to which has to be added the Government grant of Rs. 500 not yet paid, making a total of Rs. 2,211·97. The duly audited statement of accounts is appended.

Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.—Statement of Accounts for 1904.

Receipts.	Rs.	c.	Rs.	c.
Balance on December 31, 1903			931	77
Entrance Fees			68	25
Life Membership (completion of payment)			67	0
Annual Subscriptions :—				
1898	31	50		
1899	73	50		
1900	114	0		
1901	110	25		
1902	204	75		
1903	357	50		
1904	987	50		
1905	21	0		
			1,900	0
Sale of Journals			156	11
Total—Rs.			3,123	13

Expenditure.	Rs.	c.
Books	102	23
Charges	378	74
Establishment and Salaries	300	0
Printing and Binding	630	19
Balance in Bank	1,711	97
Total—Rs.	3,123	13

N.B.—Government grant of Rs. 500 due for 1904, but not yet paid, brings balance for 1904 up to Rs. 2,211·97.

Audited :

February 3, 1905. J. A. Henderson.

Ronald H. Ferguson,
Honorary Treasurer.

CONCLUSION.

In conclusion, the Council invite the further continued co-operation of Members in developing and maintaining the Society which has now been in existence for sixty years.

3. HIS EXCELLENCY then addressed the gathering: "Before moving the adoption of the Report I may be permitted to make a few remarks. I have to thank the Society for the honour it has done me in electing me as Patron. Last year I did not feel justified in venturing among you, knowing so little, as I did, of the Island at the time. Since then I have learned something of the country—enough to satisfy me as to the great and wide field for usefulness of this Society. I believe I am right in saying that it was really the parent from which the Royal Asiatic Society of England sprung, and although the Society has abdicated from that position, it is still one of the most important branches of the Royal Asiatic Society that is doing much good work in Asiatic matters.

With reference to the Annual Report, mention had been made, in the first place, of the necessity of getting the Museum Library enlarged. The Museum also, I believe, was a child of the Society. The matter has been before the Government, and the plans of the building have been accepted, but unfortunately financial considerations this year prevent anything being done. I hope, however, that in a very short time the Government will be able to extend the Museum, for I recognize the importance, not only of the Library, but also of the Museum being enlarged.

With reference to Polonnarawa, I may say that Government intends to do everything it can to preserve the "Thupáráma" and save its roof. The Government has determined that it shall be done as soon as we are satisfied as to the best means of preserving it.

A glance at the affairs of the Society would show how much the Society had done in the past. Amongst other things we may look back with gratification at the excellent work that Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Archæological Commissioner, has accomplished. The important excavations that he has made at Anurádhapura, Sigiriya, and Polonnaruwa are kuown to all. Mr. Bell had found that he was so fully occupied with the work of excavations that it was quite impossible for him to get the record of the results written up. But for the present he will suspend excavations for the purpose of writing those records and preparing a catalogue of the most interesting collections that had been recovered from the ruins, and which, when arranged and catalogued, will be of immense importance to Archæologists. Nowhere in the world, perhaps, are there more interesting problems archaæological and ethnological, than in Ceylon. The Government has not done amiss, therefore, in assisting in the work of investigating and endeavouring to draw from the ruins, by the recovery of the remains of old buildings and of records, all the materials for bridging the centuries.

We pride ourselves upon the enormous strides that have been made in science of late, and especially within the last wonderful century. Among those discoveries there had been none of greater importance than the discoveries made in medicine and hygiene; and

I do not know of any that have attracted more attention than the results of the investigations by Manson, Ross, Celli, and others into that fatal and widespread disease that had afflicted humanity perhaps more than any other—malarial fever caused by the bite of the mosquito. The question to be asked is: Are we not merely recovering the crumbs of knowledge that fell from the table of the long-buried East? A short time ago Government instituted an inquiry into the incidence of malarial fever at Mutwal, and during the inquiry I was surprised to see a communication from the Secretary of the Ceylon Native Medical Association mentioning that in old books the mosquito was mentioned as one of the means of propagating malarial fever. I was so struck that I made further inquiries, and found that in the medical works of *Charaka*, *Susruta*, and other ancient Sinhalese writers, it was mentioned that there were sixty-seven kinds of mosquitoes, and further that there were four kinds of malarial fever caused by the bite of those mosquitoes. At present about thirty-six to forty species of mosquito have been named in Ceylon, of which Mr. Green has named twenty-four. So that, as a matter of fact, recent discoveries are only re-discoveries. The books I refer to were written in the sixth century. Therefore we have only re-discovered what was on record fourteen hundred years ago. These facts are interesting, I do not know whether any of those present can read Sanskrit, but the Interpreter Mudaliyár is here, and the books and the passages showing from where they have been derived.

The Government are arranging for the translation by native scholars of "*Rájaratnákaraya*," a history of Ceylon compiled in 1542; and "*Nikáya Sangrahawa*" or "*Sásanávatáraya*," a history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon written at the end of the 14th century.

The Government is also considering the question of arranging with the Royal Asiatic Society for the republication of the *Maháwansa*, the Great Chronicle of Ceylon, the first part of which was nearly completed by the late Professor Hardy, and would be finished by Professor Geiger of Erlangen. It was suggested to Government that they should give an annual grant. I think I can safely say that the small sum suggested can be as freely given by the Ceylon Government as by the Indian Government, and in that manner proper translations placed within the reach of archæologists.

There is a very large number of important ancient manuscripts to be found in various places in the Colony. I hope Members of the Society will exert themselves and make inquiries. They may find in various viháres or in the possession of laymen very old manuscripts that ought not to be neglected, and which could be translated by their Society, aided by the Government. I commend the idea to all Members who have it in their power to discover where such old manuscripts are stowed away, in order that they may be brought to light.

4. Sir W. W. Mitchell formally moved the adoption of the Report. He was glad to note that the funds were in a fairly satisfactory condition. The Membership had kept up fairly well, but there was no reason why there should not be well over 200 Members on the Society's roll. They would be pleased to find that the extensions to the Museum were in a better way to being accomplished than hitherto. It was possible that the authorities had been too ambitious in their

plans. The Society had sometimes been criticized because its Papers were occasionally of a dry nature, not of general interest. He would suggest greater variety of subjects—Papers on the Pearl Fishery for instance, and Geology, Zoology, Natural History, &c.—to make it more generally attractive. They were much indebted to Mr. Bell for his valuable and interesting Reports, and he trusted these would soon be collected in a form available to all. He then moved the adoption of the Report.

Dr. W. H. DE SILVA, in seconding, said that the ancient records as regards medicine and medicinal treatment with indigenous herbs, &c., could provide material for several interesting Papers; and more attention might be paid to these by establishing research medals or scholarships which might stimulate some of the younger Members to give this Society some regular Papers of importance, not only in the field of medicine, but in Zoology, Botany, and Archæology.

The Report was duly carried.

5. On the motion of Mr. E. B. Denham, seconded by Mr. A. K. Coomáraswámy, the following Office-Bearers were elected for the year 1905 :—

President.—The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G.

Vice-Presidents.—Mr. J. P. Lewis, M.A., C.C.S., and Mr. P. Freudenberg, J.P.

Council.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C.M., F.R.C.S.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere.
Mr. P. Rámanátham, C.M.G., K.C.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin, F.R.I., B.A.
Mr. H. White, C.C.S.
Mr. A. Willey, M.A., D. Sc., F.R.S.
Mr. J. C. Willis, M.A., Sc. D.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. R. H. Ferguson, B.A.

Honorary Secretaries.—Mr. H. C. P. Bell, C.C.S., Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph.

6. The Hon. Mr. FERGUSON returned thanks for the Office-Bearers on their election in so cordial a manner. He would only remind the Members how greatly the vitality and usefulness of a Society such as theirs depended on the Secretaries. To Mr. Harward they were specially indebted for self-denying labours continued, notwithstanding many increasing responsible calls on his time. He was ably supported by Mr. Joseph. The Honorary Treasurer, too, was also indispensable in his own place, for without his "duns" they would probably have not enough of the sinews of war—that is, the requisite wherewithal to print their Journals and Proceedings. Then he was glad to be able to announce that Mr H. C. P. Bell had consented to resume office as Honorary co-Secretary and Editor of the Society's Journal.* Mr. Bell had been a tower of strength to the Society for many years past, and he (the speaker) had felt this so much that he took upon himself to ask Mr. Bell to allow his name to be brought forward for the office

* See *ante*, p. 333, Council Meeting, February 6, 1905, 2.

of President. But to this Mr. Bell was unable to assent. Let them hope, however, that later he would grant the necessary permission, in which case he (the speaker) would gladly propose Mr. Bell as his successor in the President's Chair.

7. Mr. JOSEPH announced that Mr. R. C. Proctor and Dr. David Rockwood had been elected Members since the last General Meeting.

8. Mr. C. M. Fernando read the following Paper :—

PORTUGUESE INSCRIPTIONS IN CEYLON.*

By J. P. LEWIS, C.C.S.

STROLLING round at the back of the Fort Church, Jaffna, one evening shortly after my arrival there in May, 1902, I noticed a long narrow stone lying on the ground against the wall of the church with a figure 3 tarred upon it—a mark of the Public Works Department. On further examination I found that it had letters engraved on it, and these I soon saw formed a Portuguese inscription, that the stone was in fact a Portuguese tombstone. Mr. T. R. Ward, the Provincial Engineer, as soon as he realized that this was the case, had the stone cleaned and removed into the vestry of the church. It was then discovered that under it lay another tombstone of a similar description with a longer Portuguese inscription.

A third stone, cut square, with the lower portion of a coat of arms engraved on it, was found with the first two stones described above. Unfortunately no part of the inscription appears on this portion. The letters V D are to be seen on the field. The design of the arms is peculiar, and it is not easy to see what they are intended for. This peculiarity may possibly enable some one versed in heraldry to identify them, so I annex a sketch.† I have no doubt the stone is a fragment of a Portuguese tombstone.

Having thus found three Portuguese tombstones within the Fort at Jaffna, I thought it likely that there might be more in the neighbourhood; and this turned out to be the case, for within a few weeks I received information of the

* I have since appended some notes from a letter from Mr. Donald Ferguson in the *Ceylon Observer* of March 23, 1905, giving interesting information respecting some of these inscriptions and the persons they commemorate or may be conjectured to immemorate.—J. P. L.

† See Plate No. 3.

existence of one with "English letters" on it, as forming part of the platform in front of the small "Muni Appar" shrine on the *glacis* of the Fort outside the moat. This shrine had been erected by men of the Ceylon Rifles when the regiment was stationed at Jaffna forty or fifty years ago, and had, since the disbandment of the Rifles, become a place of popular devotion, with a "Manager" all to itself. I found that the outer end of the platform was composed of a Portuguese tombstone.

This stone was broken right in half and two of its corners had been rounded off, but fortunately this mutilation* had only cut off two letters of the inscription. I entered into negotiations with the "Manager," and he agreed to my suggestion that it should be removed.

I obtained permission from Government for the erection of these four tombstones in the vestry of the Dutch church, and this has been done. The stones have been let into the wall, the letters blackened, and a framed copy and translation of the inscriptions hung up in the vestry. Drawings from photographs of the other three tombstones are annexed. Their new position will at least ensure that they will not be used for culverts or drains by the Public Works Department, a destiny which some of them would very probably have attained had I not had my eyes open on that evening when I strolled about the old Fort of Jaffna. The inscriptions are translated as follows, taking them in the order in which I have mentioned them :—

Plate No. 1.

The translation presents no difficulty. The inscription reads "Sepultura de Antonio Alvres e de seus erdeiros 621," and the translation is : "The tomb of Antonio Alvres† and of his heirs, 1621." The only peculiarities are the combination

* In the sketch this does not show, as the corners have been re-made in concrete.

† Possibly Alvares, but the form Alvres, says Mr. Ferguson actually occurs in Portuguese nomenclature. He has been unable to identify Antonio Alvres or Alvares.

of the letters D and E in the words "de" and "erdeiros," and the omission of the first figure of the date in 1621. This manner of writing the date was customary at the period, just as we write '03 for 1903, omitting two figures instead of one. The dimensions of this tomb are 5 ft. 10 in. by 1 ft. 5 in.

Plate No. 2.

The inscription, which it took me considerable study to decipher completely, at last resolved itself into the following:—

"Esta sepultura he de Manoel de Silveira Coutinho e de sua molher Izabel Soares e de seus erdeiros 1640 (?)."

["This tomb is of Manoel de Silveira Coutinho* and of his wife Izabel Soares and of their heirs."]

The date is illegible. The peculiarity about this inscription is the use of an archaic form of R† (thus,) and the combinations of N and H, V, and A, &c. It is much rougher cut than the first inscription, the kind of stone used being different also. The size is 4 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. The Portuguese seemed fond of long narrow tombs, in contrast to the Dutch, whose tombstones were generally of very ample dimensions.

Plate No. 4.

"Esta sepultura he de Paulo Fereira Mene (?) he de seus herdeiros."

["This tomb is of Paulo Fereira Menezes and of his heirs."]

The date is illegible and the word "Mene" not distinct. It is the only word in the inscription that presents any difficulty. It may be "Mene," in which case it probably is a contraction of Menezes, or possibly "Melo," another well-known name.

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* Mr. D. Ferguson writes: "I have been unable to trace either Manoel da Silveira Coutinho or his wife Izabel Soares. It is a curious coincidence, however, that among the captains who accompanied the Viceroy D. Constantino de Braganga in his expedition against the King of Jaffna in 1560 was Manoel da Silveira (Couto VII., IX. i.); and among those who took part in the defence of Columbo against the attacks of "Madune" in 1563 was Simáo de Mello Soares (Couto VII., x. xiv.).

† "This form," says Professor Gracias, "dates back from the early centuries of the Portuguese monarchy, and instances are to be found in India until the middle of the 17th century." Mr. Ferguson thinks, from the archaic form of R used, that the date is much earlier than 1640.

It will be noticed that one of these inscriptions begins "Sepultura de" ["The tomb of"] and two "Esta sepultura he de" ["This tomb is of"]. These were the two commonest forms for the beginning of a Portuguese monumental inscription. A third form was "Aqui jaz" ["Here lies"] and a fourth "Pater noster pola alma de" ["A pater noster for the soul of"]. I have examined thirty-one inscriptions of the 17th and 18th centuries given by Professor Ismael Gracias in his "Inscriptions and Epitaphs"* of Goa, and I find that eighteen of them begin "Sepultura de," four "Esta sepultura he de," one "Aqui jaz," and one "Aquiespera." The form "Pater noster," &c., as will appear later, occurs in a Mannár inscription and in one in the Colombo Museum.

It will also be noticed that the Jaffna inscriptions end "e de seus herdeiros" or "erdeiros" ["and of his or their heirs"]. This was the conventional ending. Of the Goa inscriptions, seventeen end "e de seus herdeiros" and four "e de seus erdeiros." Both forms of the word for "heirs" ("herdeiros" and "erdeiros") appear to have been used, which would seem to show that Cockneyism is not confined to the English language.

So much for Jaffna. I am afraid there are no more Portuguese tombstones to be found there, though a Portuguese church existed within the Fort, at the opposite corner apparently to that occupied by the Dutch church,† and somewhere near the entrance to the present jail. Further search failed to find any.

I happened to be at Mannár the following September, and

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* Insripsgãos e Epitaphios
por
J. A Ismael Gracias
Primeiro Fasciulo
I. Igrija de S. Lourengo de Agacaim
II. Convente de N Sra Do Pilar em Goa Velha—
Nova Goa
Empressa Nacional
1890.
The author is Professor of Economics at Nova Goa.

† See the plan in Baldæus.

as luck would have it, the covered drain under the Fort gateway was being repaired by the Public Works Department, or rather it had just been repaired, but the water would not run out through it. Mr. Denham, the Assistant Government Agent, and I accordingly had the covering of the drain taken off. When this was done it was found that some of the broken pieces of stone of which it was composed had coats of arms, or portions of coats of arms, and letters on them.

A stone was noticed in the pavement of the gateway with the date 1687 on it. We therefore had a number of the stones forming the pavement removed, and piecing them together with some out of the drain we found that we had discovered the upper portions of two Portuguese tombstones.

Plate No. 5.

The first of these consisted of a block of stone with a rounded top having a coat of arms surmounted by a helmet and crest very finely and deeply cut upon it.* Unfortunately the stone is broken off short just below the coat of arms, and only the words

COVA E,

which mean "grave is," with part of two letters underneath, one a T, can be made out. I regret to say that all our efforts to find the rest of the stone have proved unavailing. It is probably built into some of the modern repairs of the Fort somewhere.

Plate No. 6.

The other stone also bears a coat of arms,† but the carving is much rougher, the stone itself being of a different description, not so well adapted for this kind of work as the other, just as in the case of the Jaffna stones described above. This stone was in five pieces, four of them being very small, and it took a great deal of digging about in the

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* Mr. Donald Ferguson wrote to the eminent scholar and antiquarian Senhor Sousa Viterbo with respect to the identification of the arms in this plate and in other plates. He identified the arms in this plate as those of Aranjo and Ribeiro quartered.

† Identified by Sr. Viterbo as the arms of Alcacova and Carneiro quartered.

entrance passage of the Fort to find them, and when found to piece them together. Eventually we succeeded in fitting together four fragments, with the result shown in the sketch. The fifth fragment, with what appeared to be the letter V on it, it was impossible to fit in anywhere, though from its appearance and the size of the letters on it it was evidently a portion of the same stone. As in the last case, all attempts to find the remaining portions proved unsuccessful. We are left, therefore, with the coat of arms and a portion of the inscription :—

AC IAZ SE
BASTIAOCT
OP

which we should evidently read as "Aqui Jaz Sebastiao," what looks like C being a portion of Q. All we know, therefore, is that "Here lies Sebastian........" (which, unfortunately, he does not), and that his coat of arms is as shown in the sketch. This may afford a clue to his patronymic.*

Plate No. 7.

The finding of these stones reminded me of what I had heard some ten years before from Mr. S. Haughton, that while he was Assistant Agent at Mannár he had found a stone trough in his compound which had been devoted by his predecessor to the feeding of pigs, and that he had rescued it from this base use, as he noticed that it had a Portuguese inscription on the lower side, and had built it up in his stables as a trough for his horse—with the inscription underneath. I mentioned this to Mr. Denham, and we went to the stables in search of it. There, sure enough, was the stone trough, but the cook, who had been cook to every Assistant Agent of Mannár from Sir William Twynam down, would have it that the trough had been erected there by that

* Sr. Viterbo reads—

AQ [UI] AZ SE
BASTIAOCAR
[NEI] RO D [ALCA]
[COVA]

gentleman, and not by Mr. Haughton. I was as certain that he was wrong, and wrote to Mr. Haughton, who corroborated my story. Mr. Denham then had the trough removed, when it turned out to be part of a tombstone of a peculiar shape.

I annex a sketch of it (Plate No. 7) which Mr. Denham has been good enough to furnish. The stone is a small one,* and this portion is evidently only the canopy or superstructure of a tomb of some height.

The inscription was at first something of a puzzle. "PR. NR.," of course, stands for "Pater noster." As regards the rest of the inscription, I have had the benefit of Professor Gracias' opinion. He says that "pola"† is a way of writing "por a," and that the inscription should read, "A pater noster for the soul of Dona," &c. With regard to the name of the lady, it appears to be Dona Maria de Lacerda, this latter being a well-known Portuguese surname. The inscription goes on, "Molher de I^{O} de Melo de Sapaio F^{A}D A^{O}," and then ends abruptly. In my opinion the rest of the inscription was on another stone which supported this canopy-like stone, and this stone has disappeared. The last line overlaps from the sloping to the vertical surface, as shown in the sketch, and was evidently continued down below on the other stone. "F D" is, according to Professor Gracias, a contraction for "Filha D," and the inscription here ends with the letters A^{O}, probably a contraction for Antonio.

The inscription would therefore read, "A pater noster for the soul of Dona Maria Lacerda, wife of Ioao de Mello Sampayo, daughter of.........." Unfortunately the name of the lady's father and the date are missing, but the name of the Portuguese gentleman that is preserved is very interesting.

* For dimensions see sketch.

† Or "pela." Another suggestion was that pola = resting-place, in which case the inscription would read "The resting place of the soul of............" This reminds one of the story in the preface to the "History of Gil Blas," of the two students who found a tombstone with the inscription, "A qui esta encerrada el alma del licenciado Pedro Garcias" ["Here is interred the soul of the licentiate Pedro Garcias"], and how the mystery was solved by the discovery of a purse underneath the stone containing 100 ducats!

There is a reference to an officer of this name in a "History of the Company of Jesus in Asia," by an Italian Member of the Order, Father Daniello Bartoli,* who lived 1608–1685, which, relating how on one occasion the plague was stopped by St. Francis Xavier, adds: "Many more details are given about what happened in the island of Mannár (where took place the martyrdom of 600 Christians, which we related a few pages higher up). The fact is made known to us by the report of an eye-witness, D. Giovanni Melio Sampaio, a Portuguese nobleman, who in after years held the office of Captain in the fortress of the same island and in the Kingdom of Kandy." Doubtless we have here part of the tombstone of the wife of this officer.† There were

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* Della Istoria
Della
Compagnie DeJesu h'Asia
Descritta
Dal P. Daniello Bartoli
Della Medesima Compagnia
It was reprinted in 1833 at Venice

I am indebted for this reference to the Very Rev. Father Vorländer, O.M.I., and the Rev. Father Beaud, O.M.I., Principal of St. Patrick's College, Jaffna.

† Mr. Ferguson writes: "The captain of *Mannár* (where the memorial was found) in 1587–1588 was João de Mello, accroding to Couto (V., x. i.), who in a previous decade (V., i. vii.) mentions him by his full name, João de Mello de Sampaio. He was probably the same person whom Couto names in dec. IX., cap. xiii., as son of Dr. Gaspar de Mello; if so, he was brother-in-law to the unlucky Pedro Lopes de Sousa (Couto, X., i. ix.), who met his fate on the Kandyan hills in 1594 (Ribeiro, I., vii.) When João de Mello de Sampaio assumed the charge of Mannár I do not know, but Couto tells us (V., i. viii.) that it was during his captaincy that there were unearthed at Mantota certain coins and an iron chain, which were thought to be Roman. This occurred, says Couto, in '1574 or 1575,' which I take to be an error for '1584 or 1585.' The great Portuguese historian also informs us that the above-mentioned relics were taken with him, to be presented to the King of Portugal, by João de Mello when he sailed from India in '1590' (actually 1592) by the 'S. Bernardo,' which was lost with all on board. As to Dona Maria de Lacerda, I can only say that she was possibly the daughter of one of the Pereiras de Lacerda whom Couto mentions as taking part in the defence of Columbo and Cota."

several persons of this name in the Portuguese Service in Ceylon.*

This then is an extremely interesting find, both from a historical and an archæological point of view, though Mr. Haughton was of opinion that it would not be worth while removing it from its position in the stables, as though undoubtedly a Portuguese tombstone or memorial, it had "no historical or archæological interest." It has, however, with the other Mannár tombstones, been removed to and set up in the small church within the Fort—which contains the Dutch tombstones removed from the old Dutch church in the town of Mannár, when it tumbled down in the cyclone of 1814, I believe. This at least is a more appropriate place for them than the main drain of the Fort and the Assistant Agent's stables, even though this one, as a quaint protest against vandalism, was promoted from pig to horse trough.

It is interesting to find that one of the Goa tombstones, viz., the first in Professor Gracias' pamphlet, is that of a Governor of Mannár :—

Sepultura de M^{el} Ser
rao fidalgo da cz d S
M^{e} cavalr e pfesso do
abito de Christo cape go
vernador que fois seis
anos da fortz^{a} de Manar
e appeatr do passo dagai
e de Frco Ser M fid conc^{o} de S
Me Donna M Brandoa
e de seus er.........

I have been furnished with the following translation by the compiler : "The tomb of Manuel Serrao, a nobleman of the house of His Majesty, Knight, professed of the Order

* See, for instance, the note by Mr. D. W. Ferguson on Diego de Melo Sampayo in "The Travels of Pedro Taxeiro," published by the Hakluyt Society, 1902, p. 140., also Lee's *Ribeiro*, p. 140, Ribeiro, *Fatalidade Historica*, p. 208.

of Christ, who was Captain-Governor for six years of the Fortress of Mannár and owner of the pass of Agacaim ; and of Francisco Serrao, Page, His Majesty's Councillor ; and of Dona Maria Brandoa ; and of their heirs." "Serrao" is probably the modern "Saram" found among Ceylon names.

As I am on this subject I may as well complete my paper by including in it all that there is to be said about Portuguese inscriptions in Ceylon. I have described seven, all found in or re-discovered in 1902. There are besides five in the Colombo Museum, the inscriptions on three of which have been published, though never in the pages of this Journal, where they should appropriately be found.

Plate No. 8.

No. 8 (see Plate) was disinterred some fifteen years ago from an old well near the Gordon Gardens in Colombo Fort, which was formerly a burial ground. It bears the following inscription under a coat of arms consisting of a shield charged with five stars arranged 2, 1, 2, and underneath the shield the date 1646. The translation is according to Professor Gracias: "This tomb is of Joana Godinho and of her heirs, which was made by one named Jaao da Fonseca." The contraction "Foca" evidently represents "Fonseca," and Mr. F. H. de Vos has identified the arms as those of Joan de Fonseca.* "Godinha" is a mistake of the engraver for "Godinho,"† and "o qual" for "a qual."

The reading suggested by Professor Gracias for the last four lines is, "a qual fecem.........por nome João da Foca."‡ The meaning appears to be that the tomb was erected by one of the heirs of Joan de Fonseca.

Plate No. 9.

"Aqui jaz Helena Roiz molher que foy de Fernao Roiz que

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* *Ceylon Literary Register*, vol. II., p. 358 ; vol. III., pp. 15 and 278.

† But Sr. Viterbo says "The surname Godinha is correct—it is not an error. Formerly, and still sometimes nowadays, the surnames of women were indicated by the feminine form.

‡ Mr. Ferguson says : "I think lines 7 and 8 should be O QVAL FES HVM Fo (*o qual fez hum filho*), 'which was made by a son ;' or the last word may represent *erdeiro*."

matarão em Berberim Falaceo a 23 de Junho de 1565 Anos."

["Here lies Helena Roiz, who was wife of Fernando Roiz whom they murdered at Berberim.* Died on the 23rd of June in the year 1565."]

This stone was dug up near the site of the Battenberg battery in the Fort of Colombo nearly thirty years ago, when the Breakwater works were begun.†

Plate No. 10.

Another stone has been more recently discovered, also in the same neighbourhood, the inscription on which is now for the first time published. It runs: "Pater Noster Ave Maria Pola alma de Bras Munes que faleceo em 19 de Marco de 1624 esta he sua sepultura e de seus herdeiros." ["A pater noster, an ave Maria, for the soul of Bras Moniz, who died on the 19th of March, 1624. This is his tomb and that of his heirs."]

It will be noticed that this inscription begins in exactly the same way as that on the Mannár tomb of the wife of João de Mello Sampayo.‡

Plate No. 11.

This stone had apparently, after its removal from the Portuguese church or burial ground in the Fort, where it was originally placed, been used for some building demolished probably at the time the Breakwater was begun; for it has two holes drilled across the surface of the face of the stone, one transversely and the other longitudinally at the foot. Fortunately the part of the inscription obliterated by these holes can be supplied from the context.

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* Beruwala.

† *Monthly Literary Register*, vol. I., p. 14. Mr. Ferguson adds "I would, however, correct what I there said as to the probability of the Moors' having been the slayers of Fernão Rodriguez. I think it more likely that he met his death in the general massacre by "Tribuli Pandar" *circa* 1554 (Couto VII. II. iv.)."

‡ The initial letter in "Bras" and the first letter in "sepultura" are ornamental, resembling "black letter." "Pola" in this inscription also is used for "pela."

The inscription runs: "Esta sepultra he de P Gomes e de su (a molher) Maria de Miranda falesco A 14 de Julho de 1648 (An) os."

["This tomb is of Paulo Gomes and of his (wife) Maria de Miranda, died on the 14th July, 1648........."]

This inscription has not hitherto been published.

Plate No. 12.

In addition to these tombstones there is in the Colombo Museum a stone with an inscription showing that it once stood (over the main doorway, probably) in the wall of the chapel of a Portuguese religious house :—

"Capella dos irmaos da confraria do santiss Rosario seu arco novamente feito na era de 1647 sendo prezidente Balthezar da Veiga."

["Chapel of the Brethren of the Confraternity of the Most Holy Rosary. Its arch was rebuilt in the year 1647, Balthezar da Veiga being President."]*

These, with the sculptured and inscribed stone at Ratnapura described and illustrated in the pages of this Journal ;† the inscription found on a rock near the foot of the Breakwater in 1898, which gave rise to a discussion recorded in the same volume of the Journal ;‡ the coat of arms found

* This is Professor Gracias' translation. A translation of this inscription was published some years ago in the *Ceylon Observer*, in which "Queen stand by us" was given as the meaning of the words here rendered "Its arch was rebuilt," and the President was stated to be "The Rev. Eleazer, 16 years of age"! There can be no doubt as to which of the two versions has the advantage in regard to lucidity. The last two letters in the last line resemble the figures 16, but they are not numerals at all, the supposed 6 being the letter G.

Professor Gracias says: "There is a Portuguese surname Veiga which is used with Da before, viz., Da Veiga or De Veiga or D'Veiga ; therefore the illegible surname.........could be Daveiga badly written. In the 17th century there was in India a Portuguese, wealthy and pious, it seems, named Balthazar da Veiga, much affectioned to the Jesuits, who died 14th January, 1652, and his remains lie in the Sacristy of the well-known Church of Bom Jesus, Old Goa, on a sarcophagus, with epitaph, granted by the Society of Jesus."

† Vol. XVI., pp. 84–114.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 15–28.

in Four Kóralés ;* the legends on the bell of the Jaffna Fort, now in St. Michael's, Polwatta,† and on that still in the Dutch church at Jaffna ;‡ and the coats of arms on the cannon in the Museum, constitute all that we have in the way of Portuguese records in the Island.

It is to be regretted, considering how long the Portuguese were in possession of the sea coast—some 150 years—and what traces they have left in the language, the nomenclature, and people of the Island, that these are so few. If, however, as is stated by some of their own historians, the Dutch broke up the tombstones of their predecessors to use them for buildings and ammunition,§ and such few remains of them as are found are used for culverts and feeding or drinking troughs for pigs and horses, or other base uses, it is not to be wondered at. But it seems a pity that when they are found they cannot be not merely "made a note of," but preserved in some safe place. The stone referred to in the following extract from the *Colombo Observer* of 11th November, 1836, has disappeared completely, and when it was inquired for in the *Ceylon Observer* fifty years later nothing was heard of it :—‖

"As the men employed by the Engineering Department were engaged in some repairs at the Battenberg Bastion a few days since, and were clearing away some accumulated rubbish and remains of old buildings, they discovered at about two feet below the surface a large flat stone on which is the annexed Portuguese inscription, exactly 300 years old. This monumental stone was found to cover a small vault in which are some mouldering human bones."

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* Sessional Papers, Ceylon, 1897 : Antiquarian Research, Kégalla, p. 31.

† R.A.S. (C.B.) Journal, vol. XVII., p. 43, shows that this bell belonged to the Jaffna Fort, which was dedicated to "Nossa Senhora dos Milagres" ("Our Lady of Miracles"). The translation furnished by a church official with a Portuguese name, to the clergy of St. Michael's, made the dedication to "Our Lady of a thousand acres, of Jaffnapatam !"

‡ I examined the bell which was in the belfry of the Dutch church, and found on it the inscription, "N.S. dos Milagres de Jaffnapatao," with the date 1648. This bell now hangs on a stand in the vestry.

§ Saar's Account of Ceylon, R.A.S. (C.B.) Journal, vol. II., p. 312.

‖ July 27, 1886.

No. 13.

AQVIIAZIVAZM
ONTEIRODESE
TWELOPRI
MEIROVIGAIRO
C^{O}NFIRMA D^{O} EPR
IMAZNESTAILH
A D C^{E} ILAO Q^{V} E
E D^{E} FIQ^{V} O^{V} ESTATE
RAD IG^{R}EIAS E C^{R} IST
AO^{S} EF^{E} ZSAOLC^{O} EES
TA C^{A}SAC^{O}NAIV TO^{R}IO
D^{O}SFIESC ISTAO^{S}ESEV
HOCRAMI VIZOESPE^{R}
AMD^{O}IAC AQ^{V}INESTA
M O^{R} A D^{A} D^{A} VI D^{A} CAM
SADAD^{E} SCAMS
AODOS* D^{O}SGR^{A} M
DESTR^{A} BALHOS
EDESORASDEC
EILAOS
NAERADE 1536.

The editor explains that the small letters in this copy are in the original contained within the larger letters that immediately precede them.

A correspondent supplied the following version and translation :—

"Aqui jaz Juaz Monteiro de Setwelo primeiro vigairo confirmado e primaz nesta ilha de Ceilao que edifieou esta terra de igre jas e Christaos e fez San Lco e esta casa cum ajuda dos fies Christos e seu grande vico, esperando aco aqui n'esta morada da vida cancada des cancos des grandes trabelhos e neshonras de Ceilaos Na era de 1536."

[" Here lies Juaz Monteiro de Setwelo, chief confirmed vicar and primate of this Island of Ceylon, who improved

* Saar's Account of Ceylon, R.A.S. (C.B.) Journal, vol. II., p. 312.

this Island with Churches and Christians and built Saint Lco and this house with the aid of faithful Christians and his great munificence, expecting here in this abode of a quiet life rest from the great disturbances and dishonours of the Sinhalese, in the year 1536."]

This, wherever it is gone, is the oldest Portuguese inscription in Ceylon, with the exception perhaps of the enigmatical one on the Breakwater rock, at any rate the oldest with a legible date.* I am afraid that this stone is not likely to reappear until the latest equivalent of the New Zealander contemplates the ruins of the present St. Lucia's Cathedral from a shattered girder of the Victoria Bridge.†

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* The next oldest is the tombstone of Helena Roïz, 1565 (No. 9).

† I append Mr. D. Ferguson's interesting remarks on this stone, which throw much light both on the ancient inscription and the actual fate of the stone :—

" The transcript printed in the *Colombo Observer* of 11th November, 1836, and reprinted in the *C. Lit. Reg.*, I., 8, is evidently not quite correct ; and the translation thereto appended is very faulty. Mr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, in his " Inscripçoes Lapidares da India Portugueza," published in the *Boletim* of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, 1894, gave an expanded version from a faulty copy of the above transcript which had been sent to him. I think the following was what was actually inscribed on the stone (I separate the combinations) :—

Aqvi iaz Lviz (2) Monteiro de Setvvel
o primeiro vigairo confirmado e primaz
nesta ilha de Ceilão
qve edefiqvov esta terra de igreias e cristãos
e fez São Lço e esta casa
com aiutorio dos fiês cristãos e sev.
Ho gram iuizo esperamdo
iaço aqui nesta morada
da vida camsada
descamsãodo
e dos gramdes trabalhos e desãras de Ceilão
na era de 1536.

"The only word I am doubtful about in the above is 'Lviz.' The *Colombo Observer* transcript has 'Ivaz' (Juaz), which is impossible ; Cunha Rivara's version reads 'Luiz,' which seems the best solution. The correct translation is as follows :—

" Here lies Luiz (?) Monteiro of Setuvel, the first confirmed vicar and primate in this island of Ceylon, who edified (or built up) this land with

churches and Christians, and built Saint Lawrence and this house with the help of the faithful Christians and his own.

'Awaiting the great judgment,
I lie here in this abode,
From toilsome life
Resting.'

and from the great labours (or troubles) and dishonours of Ceylon, in the year 1536.' "

"Regarding Luiz (?) Monteiro, I have failed to obtain any information beside what is told us in his epitaph. The church of São Lourenço, or Saint Lawrence, was the oldest in Colombo, and stood near where the root of the breakwater now is, and where the Battenberg bastion used to be; in fact, where the stone was discovered. It and the "house" connected with it are shown, I think, in Ressende's plan of Colombo. The church gave its name to the older of the two parishes into which the Portuguese city was divided (Ribeiro, I., xii.). It will be noticed that in the epitaph occur four lines of verse, rhyming 1221, and here comes in a very curious fact, to which Mr. David Lopes of Lisbon drew my attention some years ago. It is that on the tombstone of the great Portuguese poet Gil Vicente the very same lines (with a slight difference) are found. According to Mr. Lopes the poet died in the same year as the vicar of Colombo, 1536; and that is the date that has until recently been given by the poet's biographers. But the Viscount de Sanches de Baêna, in his *Gil Vicente*, states that the death of his wife in Evora in 1532-1533 was so much felt by the poet that in 1536 he retired to his country seat of Mosteiro in the *concelho* of Torres Vedras, where he died at the end of 1540. By his wish his body was laid beside that of his wife, over whose tomb, after her death, he had had a stone placed, on which were engraved the following lines:—

'Aqui jaz a mui prudente
Senhora Branca Becerra
Mulher de Gil Vicente
Feita terra.'

('Here lies the very prudent lady Branca Becerra, wife of Gil Vicente, turned to earth.') After his own death there was engraved on the stone the following inscription, which, says the Viscount de Sanches de Baêna, the poet had previously 'traced' (*traçado*):—

'O grão juizo esperando
Jazo aqui n'esta morada
Desta vida tão cançada
Descançando.'

"The lines as here given (with the spelling unfortunately modernized) are copied from a paper entitled "Epitaphios Antigos," by J. H. da Cunha Rivara, published in the fourth volume of the *Panorama* in 1860, in which the writer says that he came across the two epitaphs in the monastery of S. Francisco at Evora. In the version of the second, which was printed at the end of the poet's works, published by his son in 1562, the penultimate line reads:—

'Tambem da vida cançada."

"This does not scan well, and is evidently incorrect. Curiously enough,

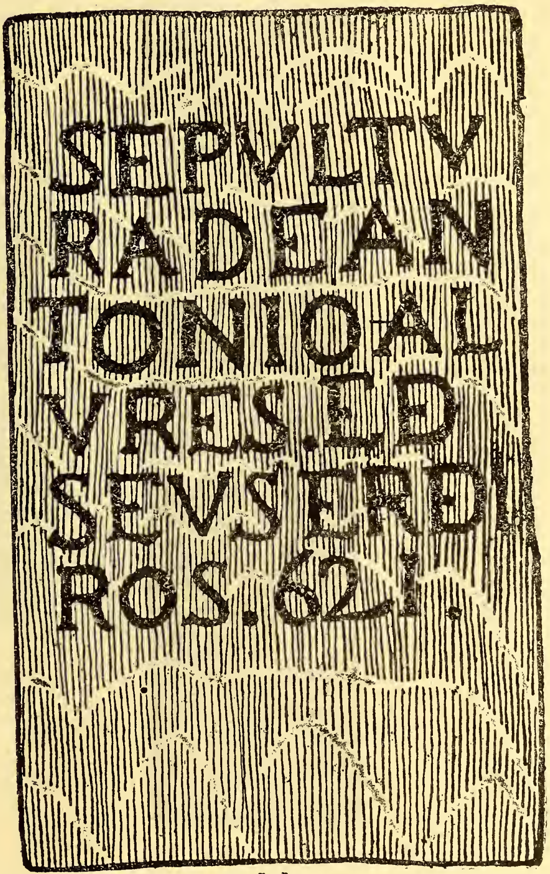
in Luiz (?) Monteiro's epitaph this line is still faultier, lacking the proper number of syllables. The problem is, How came these lines to be on two stones so far apart as Evora and Colombo? If, as the Viscount de Sanches states, they were 'traced' (on the stone?) by the poet at some time between 1533 and 1540, it is probable that they had found their way to Ceylon in the brain of some person, whose memory, however, failed him in regard to the fourth line.

"So much for the inscription. Now as to what has become of the stone. Mr. Lewis concludes his paper by remarking: —'I am afraid that this stone is not likely to re-appear until the latest equivalent of the New Zealander contemplates the ruins of the present St. Lucia's Cathedral from a shattered girder of the Victoria Bridge.' Has Mr. Lewis the gift of clairvoyance? Apparently so, if what I am about to relate be true. In a periodical entitled *Ta-ssi-yang-kuo*, published in Lisbon, has been appearing a very valuable contribution by Fa. Christovao Casimiro de Nazareth, headed 'Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente,' which gives chronological lists, with details, of the Portuguese vicars-general, &c., in the East from the earliest times. In ser. II., vol. III., No. 6 (1902), Ceylon is dealt with, the first person mentioned being 'D. João Vaz Monteiro' (yet another variant of the name), the discovery of whose tomb in 1836 is duly recorded. A footnote is appended in which the following almost incredible statements are made:—'The tombstone of this bishop, discovered among some ruins, having been placed by the English Government at the disposal of the vicar apostolic (Silani ?), to be preserved as a historic memorial, the depositary had it broken in pieces and the fragments placed in the foundations of the cathedral which was being rebuilt in Colombo. The same fate befel the inscribed stones of the King D. João Dharmapala, converted by the Portuguese missionaries, and of many other deserving Portuguese priests, of that mission.'—*Jornal das Colon.* Lisb., 1886, setb. 27. Apparently the statements are quoted from the *Jornal das Colonias* of 27th September, 1886, and I do not know upon what authority they rest. The matter calls for inquiry, though, I fear, Mr. Lewis is a true prophet as regards the re-appearance of the stone.

According to the Lisbon paper the tomb of Dom Joao Perea Pandar (Dharmapâla) has suffered the same fate. About this tomb I inquired in the *M. Lit. Reg. I.* Its destruction is in many ways even more to be regretted than that of the tombstone of the first vicar of Ceylon.

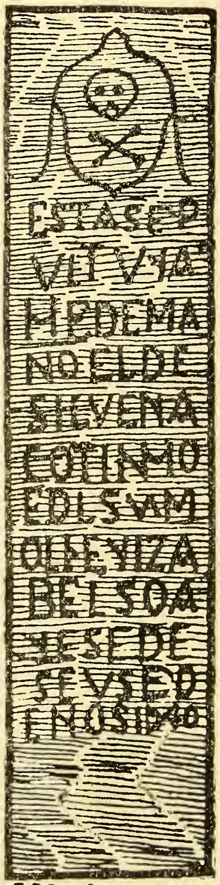
With regard to the reading "Luiz" for "Vaz," Sr. Viterbo comments as follows "Rivara was wrong in interpreting *Vaz* by *Luis*, certainly there would have been before that name a *Jo*, the abbreviation for *Joas.* Besides Luis was not written with a *Z* but with an *S*."

APPENDIX.



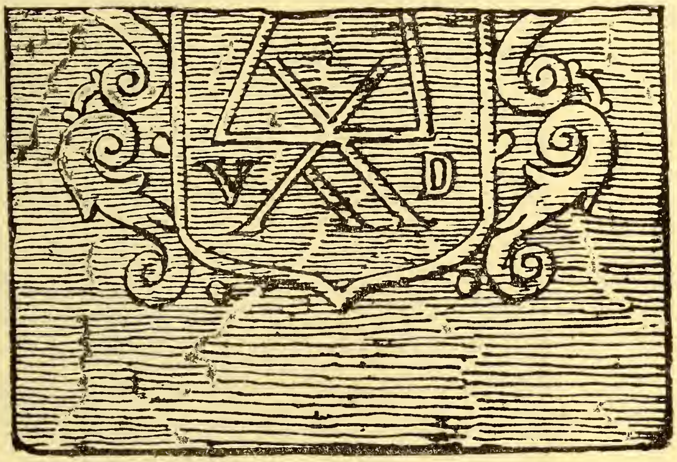
F.P. Candappa, del.

Plate No. 1.



F.R.C. del.

Plate No. 2.



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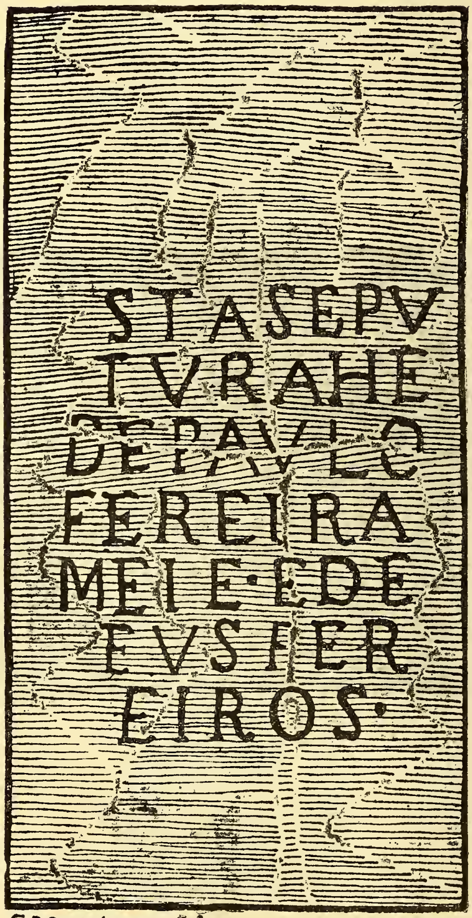


F. P. Candappa, del.

Plate No. 4.

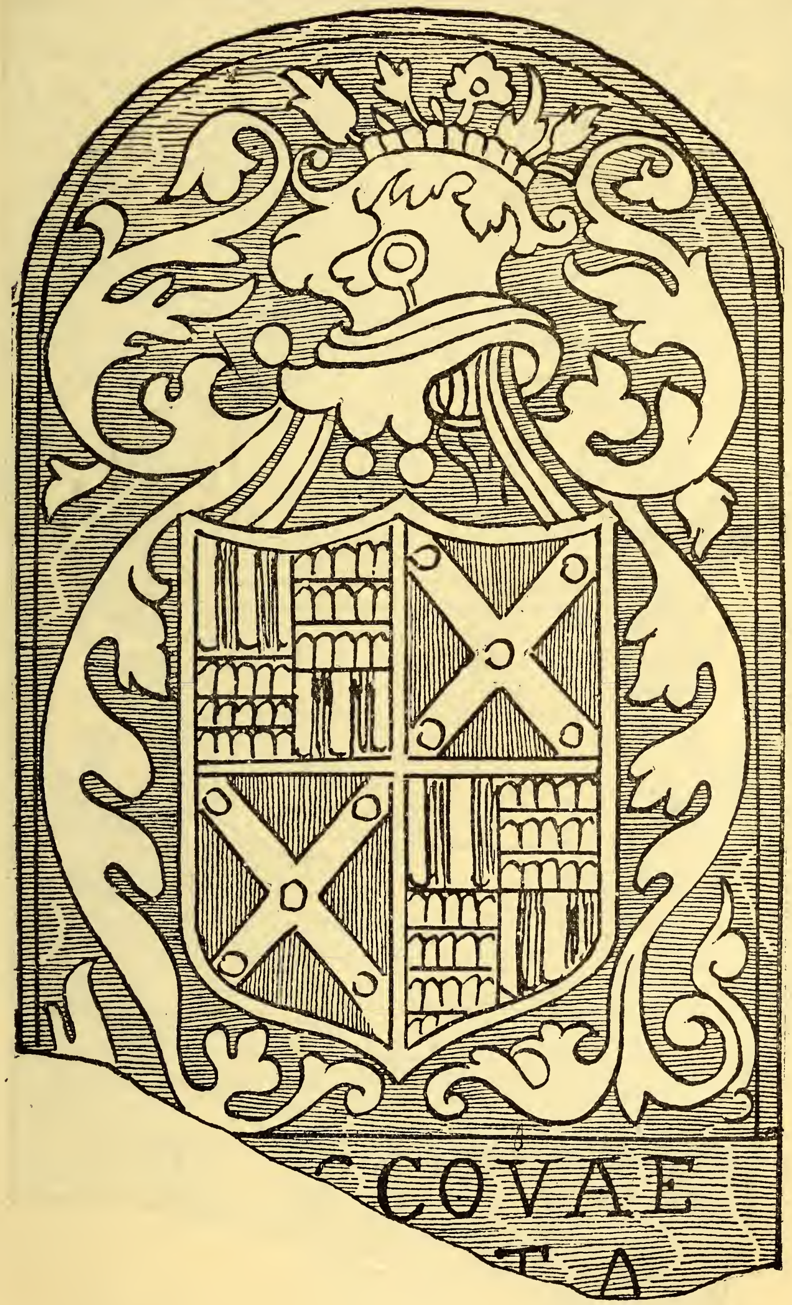
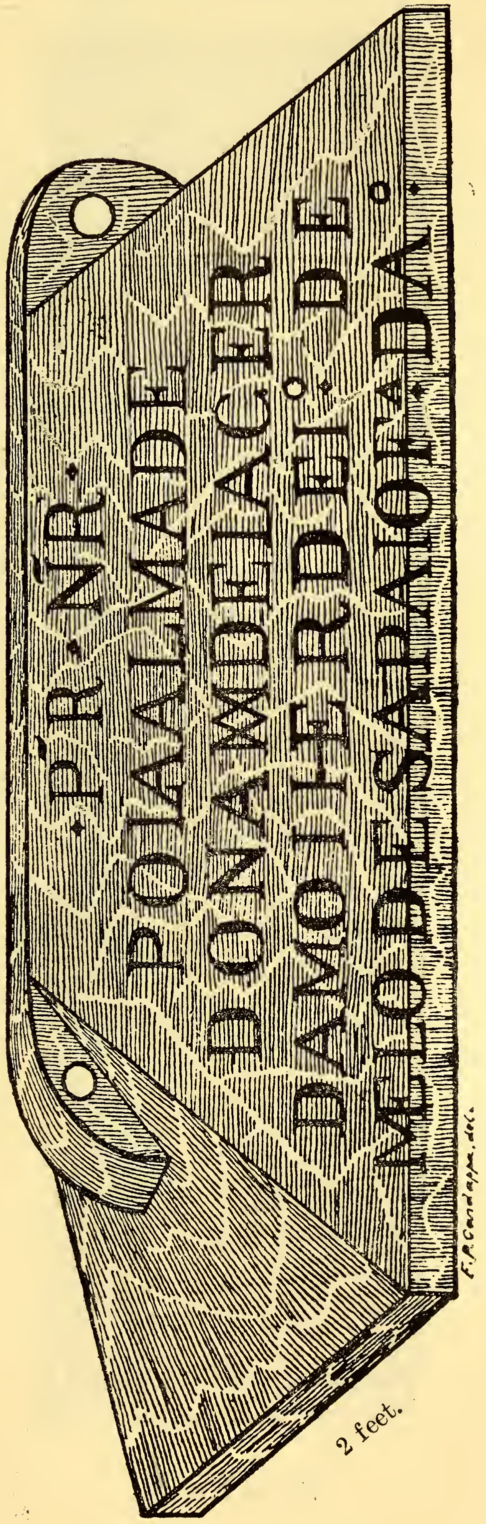


Plate No. 5.

Plate No. 6.

Height 1 foot 2 inches.

1 foot 9 inches.



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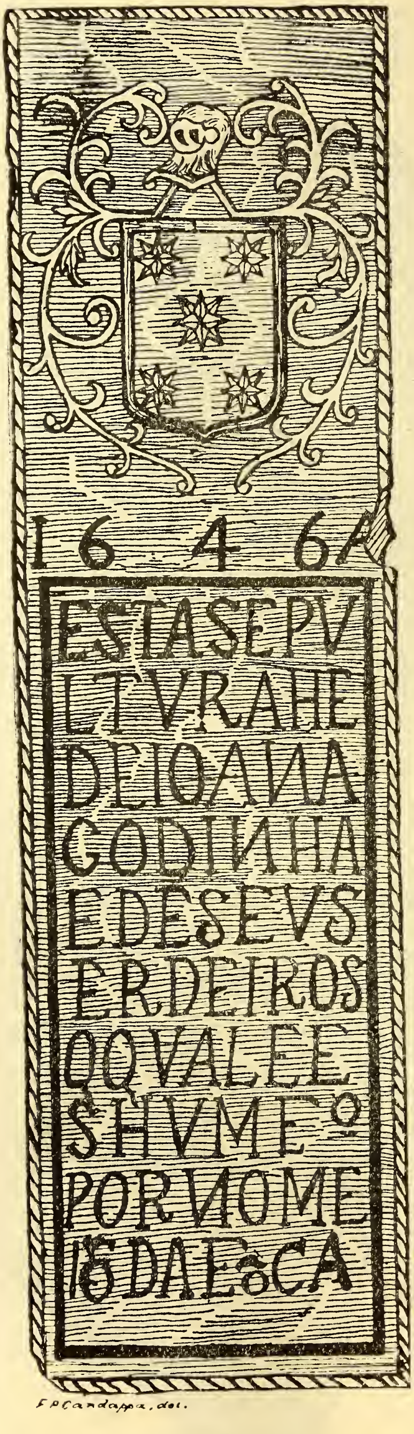
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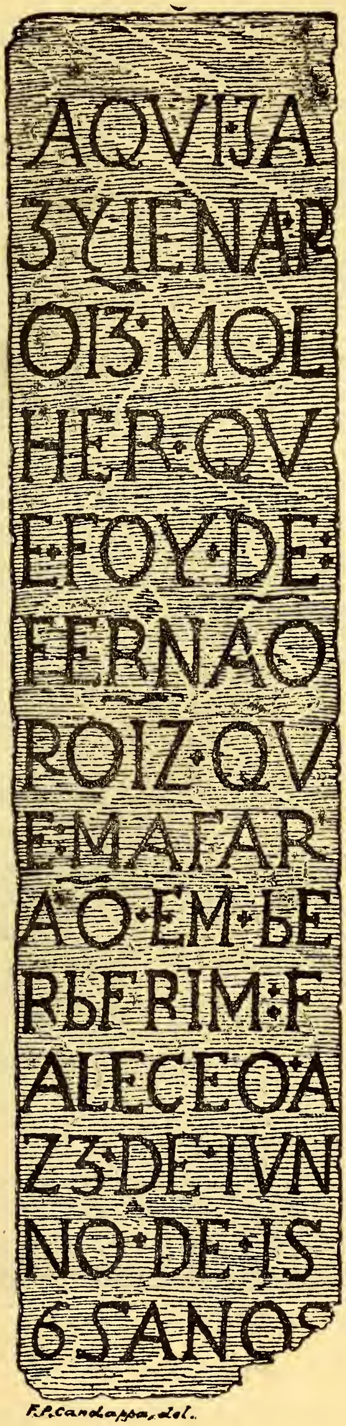
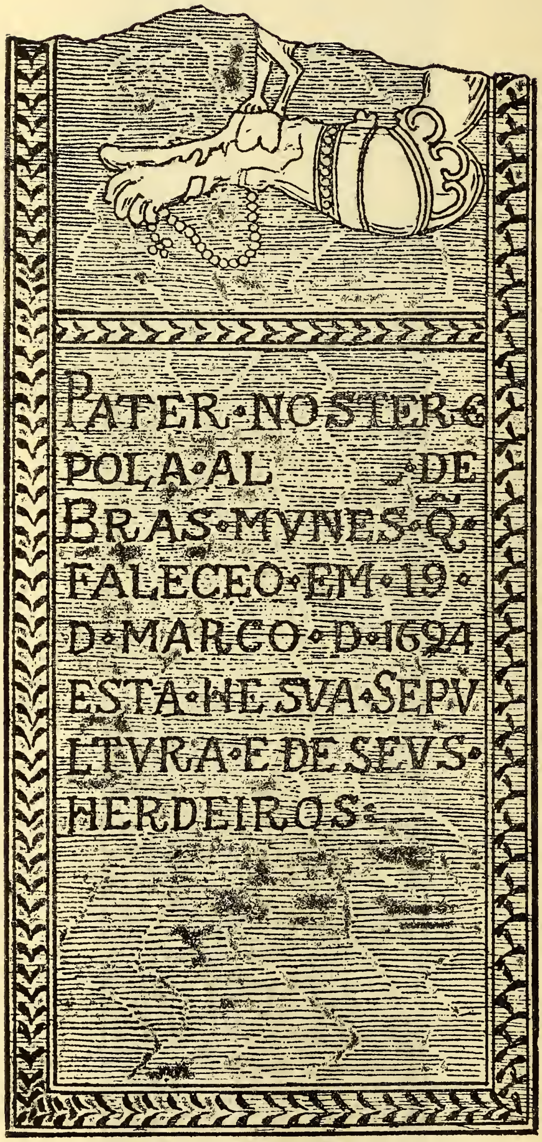
Plate No. 8.



F.P. Candappa, del.

Plate No. 9.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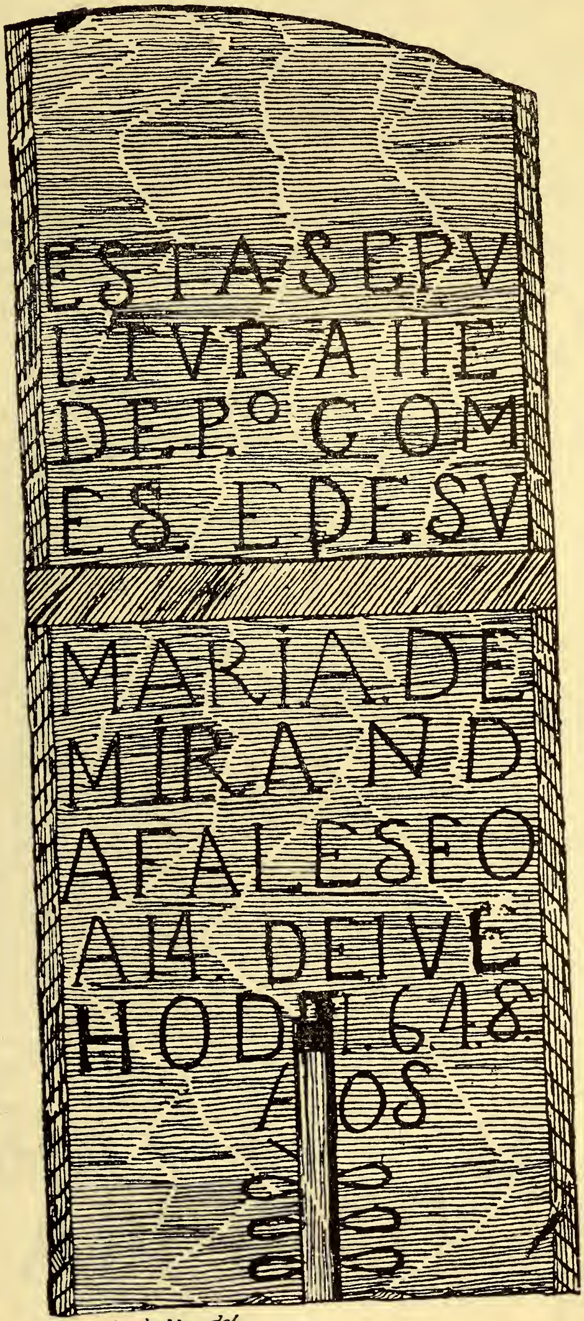
LTVRA•E DE SEVS•
HERDEIROS•

Plate No. 10.



F. P. Candappa, del.

Plate No. 11

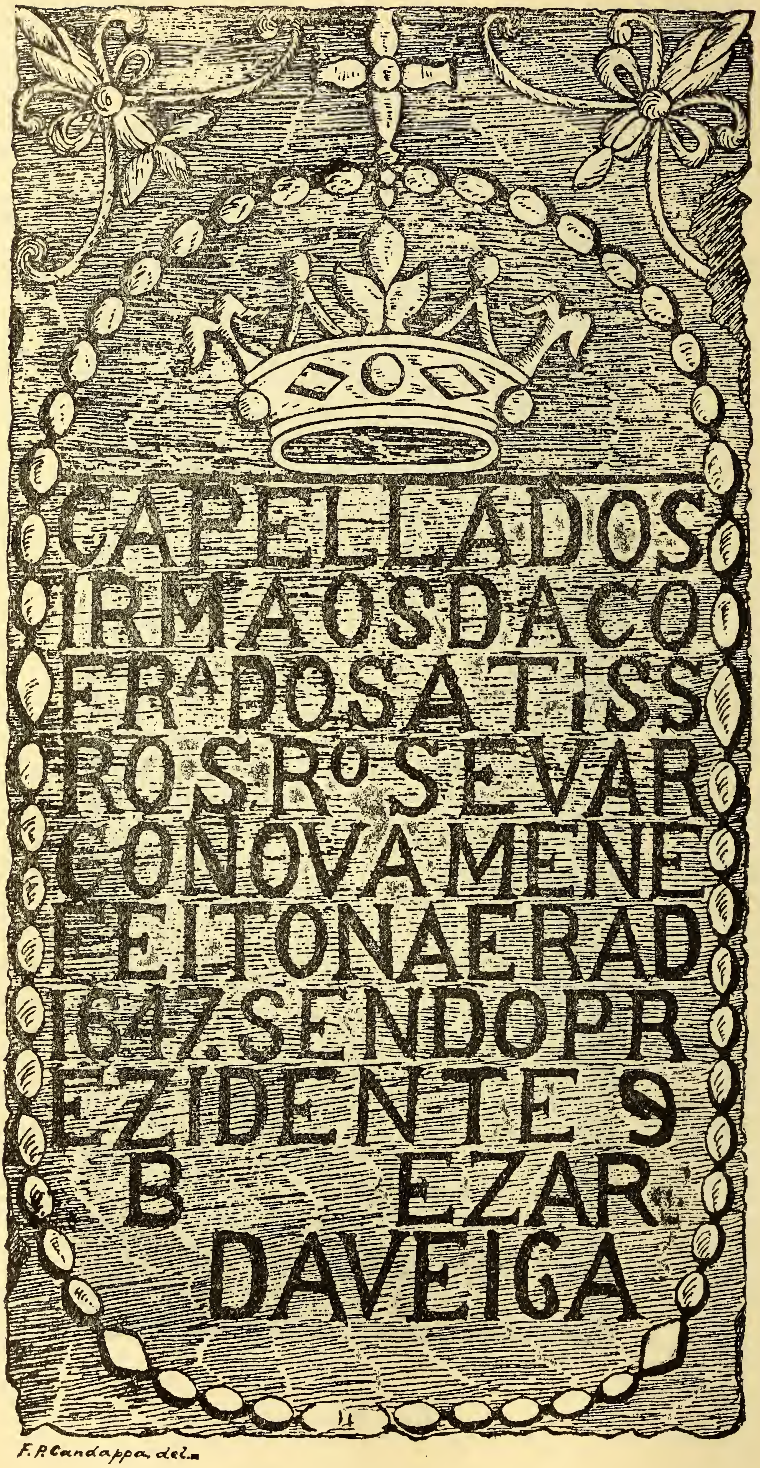


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Plate No. 12.

9. Mr. E. B. DENHAM gave a further account of the discoveries at Mannár. He mentioned that among the stones found was one with two geese with their necks intertwined. It was a curious instance of historical vicissitudes that the Portuguese used the ruins of Tiruketisveram for building the floor of the Mannár Fort, wherein centuries later was found the tombstones of leading Portuguese, which, rescued from their resting place, were set up in the so-called Dutch Church in the Fort with the tombstones of the Dutch conquerors of the Portuguese. He thought that the " tombstone " (fig. No. 7) might be the top of a font erected to the memory of the lady Dona Maria Lacerda. He hoped that the Paper might encourage others to search for relics of the Portuguese who had exerted a great influence in Ceylon in religion, nomenclature, and language.

10. Dr. CHALMERS, in formally proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Lewis for his Paper, said that he had seen the Portuguese inscriptions while he was in Jaffna, and that he had been much interested in such excellent remains of the Portuguese occupation. Mr. Lewis deserved great thanks from the Society for the interest which he had taken in bringing this matter forward.

It was possible that remains of the Portuguese other than inscriptions might be found, and instanced as well worth study the remains of a fort at Kangesanturai which was supposed to be the foundation of a proposed Portuguese Fort.

Mr. BERWICK seconded the motion. Contrasting the nature of the monuments which different peoples have left of their dominancy, he referred to the remarkable survival in Ceylon to-day of the Portugese physical type of features (apart from mere colour), language, and religion. With respect to the last, he emphasized the fact that the introduction, or at all events the great spread of Christianity (with all the civilization that follows on that) in the East, was due to the Portuguese.

11. The President (Mr. FERGUSON) proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be accorded to their Patron, His Excellency the Governor, for coming amongst them with Lady Blake and for discharging the duties of Chairman in so effective and interesting a way that evening. It was always regarded by the Members of this Society as a marked honour when the Governor of the Colony consented to fill the Chair at any of their Meetings, and this was greatly enhanced in the case of Sir Henry Blake from the special interest which he had already evinced in work connected with and objects dear to the Society, and because of his personal devotion to the revival, improvement, and development of agriculture throughout the Island. It might be mentioned that in the past records of their Society there was quite a number (twenty at least) of Papers dealing with different branches of agriculture, and it must be well at this time to recall the " design " of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which in the words placed in the forefront of its Journals is " to institute and promote inquiries into the history, religion, literature, arts, and social condition of the present and former inhabitants of the island, with its geology, mineralogy, its climate and meteorology, its botany and zoology." He need not say how glad the Council and Secretaries would be to receive suitable Papers bearing on any of the above subjects, or to aid in investigations, such as were suggested by their esteemed former President, the Metropolitan Bishop of Calcutta, who

in a communication locally published not long ago stated: "I have not yet had time to make a study of what indications there are in these parts of the truth of the old Siṇhalese tradition that their ancestors came from Bihar and by sea, but all that I have noticed tends to confirm it. In particular, I would commend to the Ceylon Asiatic Society the inquiry, whether the old Bengal port of Tambuk—once a port, but now many miles inland—may not throw light by its old name 'Tamrup' on the history of the Siṇhalese migration and the name of Tamrapani or Taprobane."

They would be glad to welcome information calculated to throw light on the inquiry suggested by Dr. Copleston. Perhaps his own relative (Mr. D. W. Ferguson) of Croydon would have something to say on the subject, as well as on Mr. Lewis's interesting Paper read that evening. That Paper reminded them how much indebted they had been to the Civil Service in the past for contributions. He trusted that with His Excellency's patronage, they would receive during the present year from all branches of the Service (especially the Scientific), as well indeed as from members of the general community, useful Papers suited to be read at their Meetings and published in their Journals. This would show that it was recognized that their Ceylon Branch deserved general confidence, and should be maintained in a career of usefulness worthy of its best past traditions. He begged to move a hearty vote of thanks to the Chair. (Applause).

THE VICE-PRESIDENT (MR. P. FREUDENBERG) seconded in a word, and the vote was carried by acclamation.

12. HIS EXCELLENCY returned thanks, and drew attention to the fact that the next General Meeting of the Society had been fixed for March 4, when a Paper would be read by Mr. C. M. Fernando on "Two Siṇhalese Swords." His Excellency then went on to offer, on behalf of the gathering, the thanks of the Society to Mr Freudenberg for his hospitality. He knew they all felt with him that they were gainers by the *contretemps* which brought them there.

Mr. FREUDENBEG, responding, said that he had tried for the last twenty-five years to be of some use to the Asiatic Society, and he had achieved his object that night!

This terminated the Proceedings soon after 11 P.M., the Members thanking their host and Mrs. Freudenberg.

APPENDIX.

J. P. LEWIS, Esq., C.C.S , to the HONORARY SECRETARY, Royal Asiatic Society (C.B.).

Marichchukaddi, February 11, 1905.

DEAR SIR,—As I was unable to be present at the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) on 6th instant, to read my Paper and take part in the discussion, may I be permitted to explain by letter why I could not accept Mr. Denham's theory that the portion of the tombstone of Dona Maria Lacerda, found at Maṇṇar, was really part, not of a tombstone, but of a font. I should be glad if this letter could be printed as an appendix to the Paper or Proceedings.

(1) It is my impression that at the period when this memorial was erected, which must have been towards the end of the sixteenth or early in the seventeenth century (the former I think), the custom of giving fonts or other ecclesiastical furniture or ornaments to churches as memorials of deceased persons had not been thought of. Memorials took the shape sometimes of chantry chapels or altars, but ordinarily of tombstones or brasses more or less elaborate. But a tombstone was a tombstone and no one thought of substituting for it a font or other part of the paraphernalia of a church as a memorial. This custom is entirely a modern one—that at least is my impression.

2 This stone is of a rectangular plan, some 3 ft. 4½ in. by 2 ft.—a very unusual shape for a font I should say.

(3) At the same time it is not of an unusual shape for a tombstone, though unique among Ceylon Portuguese and Dutch memorials.

(4) The only reason for supposing it to be part of a font is the *quasi* handles at the ends with holes which look as if they were intended for poles to be passed through them in order to lift the stone, and suggest to Mr. Denham that it might be a font cover. But in my opinion these are merely ornamental terminals to the top ridge of the stone. The stone is far too heavy for a font cover, and would have required four men and two poles to lift it every time the font was used, which process would also have involved cutting the inscriptions temporarily in half.

J. P. Lewis.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, March 4, 1905.

Present:

Mr. P. Freudenberg, Vice-President, in the Chair.

Mr. C. Baṭuwantuḍáwe, Advocate.
Dr. A. J. Chalmers, M.D., F.R.C.S.
Mr. F. J. de Mel, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Dr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C M., F.R.C.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A , LL.M.
Dr. H. M. Fernando, M.D., B.Sc.
Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyar
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Mr. E. W. Pereira, Advocate.
Mr. P. E. Pieris, M.A., C.C.S.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin, F.R.I.B.A.

Messrs. J. Harward, M.A., and G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.
Visitors: One lady and twenty-eight gentlemen.

Business.

1. The Chairman:—Gentlemen, before formally opening this Meeting, I wish to refer to a happy event which took place at Bombay to-day. I mean the wedding of our President, the Hon. Mr. John Ferguson. I am sure that I am only giving expression to what the Society feels when I say that we offer our hearty congratulations to Mr. Ferguson and his bride and wish them all happiness.

2. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on February 6, 1905.

3. Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana read the following Paper:—

RAJA SIṈHA I.,

PARRICIDE AND CENTENARIAN.

A Review.

By W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA, Mudaliyár, of the Department
of Public Instruction.

It is stated, and generally accepted as history, that Rája Siṉha I., the warrior king of Ceylon, cleared his way to the throne by putting his father to death, and that he lived to the great age of 120 years. The first statement is contained in the *Maháwaṉsa*,* and appears in the works of Faria y Sousa,† De Couto,‡ and others§ ; the second is made, or allusion is made to it, by most European writers dealing with the period.‖ From a consideration of surrounding facts and circumstances, however, it would seem that we can arrive at independent conclusions of our own with regard to the truthfulness or otherwise of both these statements ; and such an investigation is the object of this Paper.

Rája Siṉha, whose name in his childhood was Tikiri Baṇḍára (the little Prince), was the youngest of a family of four children of Máyádunne,¶ who was the youngest son of King Vijaya Báhu VII., and the first great opponent of

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* Chap. XCIII.

† Vol. III., pt. I., chap. IV., sec. 11.

‡ Dec. X., chap. XIII., vol. VI., pt. II., p. 215 (Ref. given by Tennent, "Ceylon," vol. II., p. 19, footnote).

§ See among others the latest history of the period, Danvers, "Portuguese in India," vol. II., p. 45.

‖ Philalethes, p. 59, apparently quoting from Valentyn ; Knighton, "Hist.," p. 242 ; Emerson Tennent, "Ceylon," vol. II., p. 21, footnote ; Bell (Report on Kḙgalla Dist., p. 7), quoting from Knighton, speaks of Rája Siṉha's energy when 100 years old.

¶ *Rájáwaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 82.

the Portuguese in Ceylon. One of his brothers, Rajjuru Baṇḍára, had died at the age of twenty years ; and a sister, the only daughter in the family, was given in marriage to the famous Vídiyé Baṇḍára, who by a previous spouse from the royal family had become the father of King Don Juan Dharmapála, the puppet and catspaw of the Portuguese. The issue of this second alliance of Vídiyé Baṇḍára was one daughter, whom in course of time he bestowed in marriage on Vijayapála Asthána,* apparently his second son by his first wife. This union would seem unsuitable in our eyes, but we have to remember that at that date such customs still prevailed in the royal families of the East. After this marriage the domestic relations between Vídiyé Baṇḍára and the Princess, his wife, became very much strained : evidently the Princess did not approve of the union ; and Vídiyé Baṇḍára then resorting to harsh treatment, we find the Princess frequently sending to her father complaining of his ill-usage.*

We are told by the *Rájáwaliya* that at this time Rája Siṇha was yet a child of eleven years old.† But such was his precocity, and such his military genius, so early developed by following his father in his military expeditions, which were both numerous and frequent, that Máyádunne unhesitatingly sent him with his surviving brother Timbiripola Baṇḍára and Vikramasiṇha Mudaliyár, to exact satisfaction of his son-in-law for his cruelty to his wife. The boy-warrior distinguished himself, and his brutal brother-in-law was soon a fugitive.

It will be necessary now to consider what was the age of Máyádunne at the time these events were happening. As we have seen, he had not only children, but had also a grand-daughter, and she being a married woman he was fairly within sight of even the fourth generation. We may therefore safely conclude that he must have been at least

* *Rájawaliya* (Siṇ.), p. 67.

† *Ibid.* See also Tennent, "Ceylon," vol. II., p. 17.

fifty-two years old at this time,* which would make him forty-one years older than his son Tikiri Baṇḍára. Tikiri Baṇḍára, or, as he began to be called early in life, Rája Siṇha, ascended the throne eleven years before his own death,† that is to say, according to the accepted account, in the 109th year of his age. According to that account, then, his father must have reached at that date the extraordinary age of 150 years. This sufficiently transcends the credible; but the marvel grows when it is found necessary for a son, who, according to history, was in possession of plenary powers of regent,‡ to murder a parent of such venerable years, for the pleasure of sitting physically on a throne which in other respects he was filling, to all intents and purposes, with credit to himself and satisfaction to his father.

On the question of probability, therefore, the story of this parricide is beset with much difficulty. Is it supported by the evidence, direct or indirect, of the histories written nearest to the period treated of? We have three such histories from three independent sources, one from the side of the Portuguese, one from the Dutch, and one from the Siṇhalese side; the earliest coming from these respective nationalities with regard to this period. All these three works are written in plain language, in great simplicity of style, and nowhere indicate any signs of aiming at embellishment or artistic effect. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the writers recorded what was actually known in their day, and intended to be truthful above all things.

The Portuguese account from the pen of the faithful Ribeiro, who saw Rája Siṇha through Portuguese spectacles,

* This is arrived at as follows: allow twenty-one years to Máyádunne at the time of the birth of his daughter, who was his third child (*Rájáwaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 82), sixteen years to the Princess at the time of the birth of her daughter, and fifteen years to the younger Princess at the time of her marriage.

† Bell, Report on Kégalla District, p. 7. See also Danvers, "Portuguese in India," vol. II., p. 44.

‡ *Rájáwaliya*, Eng. trans., p. 84.

which, it may be remarked in passing, magnified his vices and minimized his virtues, speaks of his death, and tells us as a circumstance of detail that it was occasioned by an iron stake chancing to pierce his foot.* The mention of the detail is important as showing the carefulness of the writer to say all he knew with regard to whatever he was speaking. He mentions Máyádunne, too, as Rája Siṇha's father,† but of his murder he says nothing: a significant silence from such an author. The Dutch account, from the diffuse pen of the still more faithful Baldæus, recounts the enormities committed by Rája Siṇha on the members of his family;‡ but among these, the murder of his father is not one. On the Siṇhalese side, the author of the *Rájáwaliya*, who is, perhaps, the best historian of this period, and gives a more circumstantial account from within than was possible with the two European writers, but who, nevertheless, is corroborated by them at every point where their accounts come in mutual contact, narrates in their proper places the various treacheries and cruelties practised by Rája Siṇha; but nowhere does he speak of the parricide.§ We have, therefore, the negative evidence of the silence of all these three writers on this point, going to show that the story of the parricide was not known in their day.

But, in addition to this negative evidence, we have also the positive testimony of the *Rájáwaliya*, which, in closing the account of the eventful and stirring times of Máyádunne, says, "King Máyádunne having reigned seventy years departed this life."‖ A clear statement, direct and definite.

It would seem that the misdeeds of Rája Siṇha not only survived him, but multiplied by a gradual process, till long after he had himself ceased to be, the list of his enormities was crowned by the story of this execrable murder. *De mortuis nil nisi bonum* is a good old maxim which, in the

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* Lee's translation, p. 23.

† Lee's translation, p. 21.

‡ Churchill's "Collection," vol. III., p. 671.

§ The story of Rája Siṇha is told in the *Rájáwaliya*, Eng. trans., pp. 82–94.

‖ *Rájáwaliya* (Siṇ.), p. 71; see also Eng. trans., p. 86, bottom.

generality of cases, is fairly well observed. But in Rája Siṇha's case it seems to have been reversed by his enemies. They not only painted him more hideous than he was, but also gave him a background more in keeping with such a picture. For it was often asserted by the Portuguese, and sometimes even by the Dutch, that Rája Siṇha was no prince bred or born, but only a barber who had risen by a military inclination, backed up by surprising good fortune in its pursuit.*

The story with regard to the longevity of Rája Siṇha seems to be beset with as much difficulty as the one of his parricide. According to all accounts he died in the year 1592.† We have it on the authority of the *Rájáwaliya* that when he was sent on his first military expedition, against Vídiyé Baṇḍára, which was some time after 1542,‡ he was in the eleventh year of his age.§ Giving the earliest possible date to this expedition by placing it at 1542, we find he could still have been only sixty-one years old when he died in 1592, a time of life which may easily account for the energy and vigour with which he was conducting operations against the Portuguese at Colombo, and the promptitude with which, on the outbreak of the Kandyan rebellion, he straightway marched to meet it and crush it,|| and met with the accident which led to his death.

If we accept this age for Rája Siṇha as correct, then the age of his father too loses its fabulous character and assumes human proportions. For according to our calculations based

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* See Baldæus, Churchill's "Collection," vol. III., p. 668.

† See among others *Maháwaṇsa*, chap. XCIV.; *Rájáwaliya* (Siṇ.), p. 78, Eng. translation, p. 94.

‡ This event took place after Don Juan Dharmapála had come to the throne, which was in 1542. See Bell, Report on Kẹgalla District, p. 6.

§ See reference already given on page 2 *supra*.

|| *Rájáwaliya*, Eng. trans., pp. 92–93; Knighton, pp. 241–243; Tennent, "Ceylon," vol. II., pp. 19–22; Mr. H. C. P. Bell, *loc. cit.*, p. 7.

Mr. F. C. Danvers, in his valuable work "Portuguese in India," vol. II., pp. 72 *et seq.*, gives a full and instructive account of the extent and character of Rája Siṇha's operations against the Portuguese stronghold of Colombo.

on the *Rájáwaliya*, Máyádunne was forty-one years older than his warlike son, and died eleven years earlier ; so that at the time of his death he would have been ninety-one years old, quite a natural and likely age. We cannot be too much impressed with the remarkable agreement between this and the statement in the *Rájáwaliya* that Máyádunne died after a reign of seventy years. For what is more natural or more in accord with Oriental custom, than that a royal prince of the great ability of Máyádunne should have been called, when about the age of twenty-one years, to rule one of the numerous principalities of his family ?

Perhaps the assignment of one hundred and twenty years for Rája Siṇha's age is the result of a mistake. Baldæus, in speaking of the death of this prince, says : "Just before his death he sent for the before-mentioned Tireanco* or High Priest, desiring him to forgive the death of his brethren, offering him considerable presents at the same time ; he refused the last, but pardoned the crime, and so returned to Candy, where he died in the 120th year of his age."† Here, be it observed, the passage opens on the death-bed of Rája Siṇha, and closes on a death-bed ; and if the incautious reader, by a slight confusion, took the curtain to have risen and fallen on the same scene, the mistake is only natural and to be expected.

To sum up, then, the evidence of history leads us to the following conclusions :—

Máyádunne was not murdered by his son, but died an honoured parent and a powerful prince, at or about the good old age of ninety-one years.

Rája Siṇha I., who succeeded to the power and fortunes of his illustrious father, and brilliantly maintained the prestige of his family and of his nation, followed his honoured parent to the grave when sixty-one years old.

4. Mr. C. M. Fernando read the following Paper :—

* *I.e.*, Terunnánsé, the term for a Buddhist priest.
† Baldæus, Churchill's "Collection," vol. III., p. 671

TWO OLD SINHALESE SWORDS.

By C. M. FERNANDO, M.A., LL.M. (Cantab.).

THE two swords which form the subject of this Paper were shown to Mr. H. C. P. Bell, when he was resident in Colombo about twenty years ago.

Hearing that they were in my possession he suggested that a "Note" on them would likely to be of interest to the Asiatic Society.

The swords came from the possession of the late Chevalier Jusey de Silva, who held them as family heirlooms.

On his death the swords passed into the hands of his only daughter, Lady de Soysa, from whom I received them.

The members of his family have always used the honorific names appearing on the swords, and claim to be descendants of the grantees. The names Aditya Arasa Nilayiṭṭa (which mean "belonging to the race of the sun") have also been used from time immemorial by the members of the family whose present head is Mudaliyár Ambrosius de Rowel of Piṭigal Kóralé South. They claim to be descendants of the chiefs of a military colony from Jeypore.

The Dutch Act of Appointment dated the 20th January, 1765, appointing the great grandfather of the present Mudaliyár to the office of Mudaliyár over Alutkúru Kóralé describes him as "Anthony Rowell Waranakula Aditta Wirasuriya Arasa Nilayitta."

Both these swords bear on them marks of undoubted antiquity. The characters are archaic; the style and language are similar to those of other documents of the time. As inscribed swords of honour granted to distinguished generals five centuries ago they furnish unique memorials of the past history of our Island.

I am indebted to Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, Chief Translator to the Government, for the decipherment of the inscriptions on the two swords, and the translations.

*No. 1.**

Text.

සවස්ති ශ්‍රී......ප්‍රවර විරාජමාන ජගදීශ්වර......විජයරාජ සෙනෙවි මහ වාසලදීය. ශ්‍රීබුද්ධ වර්ෂ සහස් නවසිය සතලොස්වැනිවූ කල ශ්‍රී ලංකා......යුවරාජ සෙනෙවිධූරයා පත්කරනු ලැබ කෞරවර ආදිත්‍ය අරස නිලසිටට ඉලෙනාගා......නමුදු කගයලබන්ට යෙදුනේ මෙ.. ... වෙසඟ පුර පසලොස් කුජදින ජයවර්ධනපුර සෙනෙවි රජවාසලදීය.

Translation.

Hail! At the palace of the Viceroy the Mighty, Victorious Lord of the Earth, Vijaya Rája. In the year of Buddha 1917 Kouravara Áditya Arasa Nilayiṭṭa Ile Nága, having been appointed General of the Viceroy, received this sword on Tuesday, the 15th day of the increasing moon of the month of Vesak, at the Palace of the Viceroy at Jayawardhanapura.

The date as read on the sword—1917 of the Buddhist era—corresponds to A.D. 1374. At that time Bhuwaneka Báhu V. was reigning at Gampola. Vijaya Báhu, his step-brother, was Viceroy at Kóṭṭé. He is called Vîra Báhu in the *Mahá-waṉsa*, and Vijaya Báhu in the *Rájá waliya*. From about A.D. 1399 he appears to have reigned in Kóṭṭé as an independent sovereign, until, on the invasion of the city by the Chinese in A.D. 1411, he was captured and taken away to China. On being released, he returned to Ceylon in A.D. 1412, and crushed by defeat and misfortune sought a hermit's cell on Adam's Peak, where tradition says he died a mendicant.

No. 2.†

Text.

ශ්‍රී බුද්ධ වර්ෂ හස්නවසිය නවපනස් වැනි ශ්‍රී ලංකාධිපති ජයවර්ධනපුර ශ්‍රී සඟබොධි ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු මහරජ විසින් කෞරවර ආදිත්‍ය කුරවීර අරසනීලසිටට මහනාගට......සෙනාපති ධූරය සහ කගීය සකස්කොට හිමිකරදුන්නේ වෙසඟපිර දවසක් ලත් කුජ දින සිරිවඩන වාසලදීය.

Translation.

In the year of Buddha 1959, at Jayawardhanapura, the Lord of Laṉká, Ṣrí Sangabodi Ṣri Parákrama Báhu Maha Rája, decreed and granted to Kouravara Aditya Kuravíra Arasa Nílayiṭṭa Maha Nága the office of general and this sword, on Tuesday the 10th day of the increasing moon in the month of Vesak, at the auspicious Palace.

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* Length of blade, 2 ft. 7¾ in.; breadth, 1⅛ in.; hilt, 4 in.; black ivory.

† Length of blade, 2 ft. 10¾ in.; breadth, 1¼ in.; hilt, 5 in.; ornamental ivory.

The year of Buddha 1959 equals 1416 of the Christian era, a year subsequent to that of the Beligala *sannasa* of Parakrama Báhu VI. The grantor is the son of Vijaya Báhu, the grantor of the first sword. It is probable that Maha Nága, the grantee, was the son of Ila Nága, the general of Vijaya Báhu. King Parákrama Báhu VI. reigned at Kóṭṭé from A.D. 1415 to 1467; and was the last great monarch of a united Laṇka.

[NOTE.—Mr. Fernando added the *text and translation* of an ola document (not produced) relating to the family from whose possession the swords came. In the absence of *the ola itself* as a test of age and genuineness, it has been deemed advisable to omit the text and translation furnished.—*B., Ed. Sec.*]

5. Mr. Advocate BATUWANTUḌÁWA pointed out what he considered anachronisms in the language. He was inclined to hesitate before accepting the ola and the inscriptions as genuine.

Mr. P. E. PIERIS congratulated Mr. Fernando on his Paper, and said that the ola was of interest as illustrating the existence of high caste families absorbed amongst the Siṇhalese. A parallel case was that of the 10,000 Brahmins whom Iba Batuta found residing at the Deni Nuwara. He had himself come across olas of a similar nature in Sabaragamuwa, and hoped that some day their contents would be made accessible to the public. Turning to the swords, he said that it was impossible to doubt their genuineness. He was quite satisfied that they bore a genuine old Siṇhalese inscription, probably written by order of a king. At the same time, comparing them with some Dutch swords of the eighteenth century, and from his own knowledge of ancient swords, he was of opinion that the swords were of European origin, and probably not more than 300 years old. He also pointed out that the writing painted in white on the swords did not correspond with the inscribed letters underneath. Could Mr. Fernando tell him under whose supervision the photographer had painted the letters?

Mr. FERNANDO explained that the photographer had followed the manuscript of Simon de Silva, Mudaliyár, who had deciphered the inscriptions.

Mr. PIERIS could not accept the decipherment as correct, and wished to know whether the Society had referred the matter to any expert.

Mr. G. A. JOSEPH explained that Mr. H. C. P. Bell had seen and handled the swords; but that was many years ago and before he was appointed Archæological Commissioner.

Mr. PIERIS said that it was most essential that the correctness of the reading of the inscription should be settled beyond any possibility of doubt. He had omitted one matter: the inscription on these two swords had already been quoted in full by Mr. Dharmaratna in a pamphlet called "The Kara-Goi Contest" published about fifteen years ago which he (Mr. Pieris) now produced.

The CHAIRMAN said that the question of obtaining another dicipherment of the inscription would be referred to the Council.

Mr. W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA inquired whether Mr. Pieris's doubts had reference to the genuineness of the inscriptions, or to the correctness of their reading.

Mr. PIERIS replied that he had no doubt whatever as to the genuineness of the swords and of the inscriptions on them ; he only doubted the accuracy of the reading.

Mr. FERNANDO remarked that with regard to the irregularity of the words and letters on the inscription, at the time of King Parákrama Báhu VI. of Kóṭṭé, Siṇhalese inscriptions on metal were produced in an illiterate and unskilful manner.

Mr. HARWARD proposed a vote of thanks to the authors of the two Papers.

Mr. TOMALIN seconded, and the motion was carried.

Dr. W. H. DE SILVA proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, which was seconded by Dr. Chalmers and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN thanked the Meeting for their vote of thanks. He had hoped that His Excellency the Governor would take the Chair at this Meeting, but sterner duties had taken him away from Colombo.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, May 2, 1905.

Present :

Mr. H. F. Tomalin, F.R.I.B.A., in the Chair.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr A. M. Guṇasékara, Mudaliyár.
Dr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C.M, F.R.C.S.
Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Buiness.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last Council Meeting held on February 6 last.

2. Resolved—The election of following candidates :—

Sir John Keane, Bart. : recommended by { C. M. Fernando. G. A. Joseph.

Dr. C. A. Hevavitarana : recommended by { C. M. Fernando. G. A. Joseph.

P. E. S. Dharmasekara : recommended by { Simon de Silva. W. H. de Silva.

3. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Note on a Dutch Medal," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved—That the Paper be accepted with thanks for publication, and that it be read at a Meeting after reference to Messrs. J. P. Lewis and R. G. Anthonisz.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Third Supplementary Paper on Monumental Remains of the Dutch East India Company in Ceylon," by Mr. F. H. de Vos.

Resolved—That the Paper be accepted with thanks and published in the Society's Journal, but not read at a Meeting.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled "Notes on Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Ratnapura District," by Mr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Resolved—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. H. C. P. Bell and J. P. Lewis for their opinions, and that, in the event of those being favourable, it be accepted and read at a General Meeting.

6. Laid on the table letters from the Secretary, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and the Director-General of Museo Nacional, Montevideo, soliciting exchanges of publications.

Resolved—That replies be sent stating that in view of the large number of Institutions already on the exchange list, the Society regrets its inability to comply with their requests.

7. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. P. Lewis dated April 15, 1905, proposing to erect a tablet in front of the tomb of the wife of Joao de Mello Sampayo, Captain of Mannar, 1584, and asking the Society to pay Rs. 25 towards its construction. The Government paid Rs. 60 for erecting the tombstone on a concrete pedestal.

Resolved—That after reference to Mr. Lewis the Society do ask Government to contribute the additional sum of Rs. 25 for the erection of the tablet.

8. Laid on the table manuscripts entitled "Journal of a Tour to Candia in 1796" purchased by the Society, and considered what steps should be taken to have it printed.

Mr. Joseph explained that the Hon. Mr. E. F. im Thurn, C.B., C.M.G., undertook to annotate for publication the manuscript for the Society.

Resolved—That the matter do stand over till Mr. im Thurn replies to Mr. Joseph's last communication.

9. Considered date and business for next General Meeting.

Resolved—That a General Meeting be held early in June, and that the exact date and business be left in the hands of the Secretaries.

10. Mr. Harward brought up the question of the two Sinhalese swords, and read a letter from Mr. Bell, Archæological Commissioner, dated April 8, 1905.

Resolved—To ask Mr. Bell to favour the Council with his decipherment of the inscriptions on the swords.*

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* See Appendix.—*B., Ed. Sec.*

THIRD SUPPLEMENTARY PAPER ON THE MONUMENTAL REMAINS OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY OF CEYLON.*

By F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden.

THE recent discovery in Jaffna by Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S., of two more Dutch tombstones has suggested the necessity of this Paper. They were found hidden under the flooring of one of the two sets of stalls which were probably set up in English times in the "chancel" of the Dutch Reformed Church in Jaffna. Of one I enclose a sketch. The other is a small plain tombstone with a portion of the left side of it sliced off and the foot hidden under the masonry of the base of the Commandeur's pew next to the stalls. Mr. Lewis thinks that the first stone was lifted from its original position in the floor underneath to make a floor for the stall, which is eight or ten inches higher than the floor of the church. The second stone was put in at some time to complete the floor. These stones have been removed from their position and let into the pavement of the church. These tombstones were neither of them *in situ*—probably removed from the former church.

As regards Thomas Nagel,† Hendrina Philipina Vos was probably his first wife. This tombstone used to be in the premises of a house in the Pettah, Jaffna, which is said to have belonged to Thomas Nagel.

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* *Vide* Journal, vol. XV., No. 49, p. 213 ; vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 12 ; vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 51.

† Journal, vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 40 ; vol. XVIII., No. 54, p. 64.

No. 1.

(*See Plate.*)

Translation.—Here lies buried Joris Hartsinck during his life *Onderkoopman* in the service of the United Dutch East India Company. Died on the 15th August, 1672. Aged twenty-nine years.

Arms.—Rietstap* gives the following blazon ; D'arg á trois faces ondèes d'azur ; au chef de gu. ch. d'un croiss. d'or.

Crest.—Un lion iss. au nat.

Supporters.—Deux lions au nat.

Remarks.—The lion in the crest is holding a thorn branch sinople, and this is the crest of the Van Marselis-Hartsinck family according to Rietstap ; * but Vorsteman van Oyen † assigns this crest to the Hartsinck family generally, giving a sketch in colours of the arms.

The family, according to the latter, derives from one Pieter Hartsinck, who married in 1403 Francyn Pietersz, and had by her a son Adriaan, who married Soetje Coster. Adriaan left no male issue, but his daughter Marytje married Hugo Willemsz. The son of this marriage, Willem Hugens assumed the name and arms of the Hartsinck family, and he was the great-great-grandfather of Joris Hartsinck who received the name Joris or George from his grandfather, who was Burgomaster of Meurs. The parents of Joris were Carel Hartsinck, Director-General of the Dutch Indies, died in Batavia, 24th September, 1667, and Sara de Solemne, born in 1619, the daughter of David de Solemne and Hester van Hoornbeek. Sara de Solemne was half-sister of Ester de Solemne, the wife of Ryclof van Goens (senior), ‡ Governor of Ceylon.

Vorsteman van Oyen says that Joris (George) was an *Opperkoopman* at Jaffna and died there on the 29th October, 1672.

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* Armorial General, 2*ieme* edition.

† Stam-en Wapenboek van Aanzienlijke Nederlandsche Familien.

‡ Journal, vol. XV., No. 49, p. 220 ; vol. XVII., No. 52, p. 66.

No. 2.

HIER RUST
MARGARITA
ROMANS GE
WESENE HUYS
VROUWE VAN
DEN PREDIKANT
BARTHOLOMEUS
HEYNEN OBIIT
27EN AUGUSTI
ANNO 1666
OUT XVIII JÆREN.

Translation.—Here rests Margarita Romans, late wife of the Predikant Bartholomeus Heynen.* Died 27th August, 1666, aged eighteen years.

Margarita Roman (s) was born in Batavia, being the daughter of Johannes Roman of Haarlem, Predikant, Batavia, and his wife Maria Hendricksdr (Pot) of Amsterdam. The following particulars about Bartholomeus Heynen and Johannes Roman are taken from C. A. L. van Troostenburg de Bruyn† :—

"Bartholomeus Heynen. Born in Paraiba (Brazil), 1644, *Krankbezoeker* (visitor of the sick), Batavia, 1659, on the 4th August, 1659, he left for Holland for his education. Being appointed Predikant he left for the Indies in the ship 'de Wassende Maan.' Arrived Batavia 7th July, 1664. Sent to Ceylon and stationed at Galle and Jaffna, at which latter place he was the fellow-workman of the renowned Philip Baldæus. Left for Batavia 1676, and in 1679 for Holland. He returned to the Indies in 1683 in the ship 'Africa.' Held services in Dutch and Portuguese till his death in 1686.

"*Johannes Roman*, son of Adriaan Roman, a shopkeeper of Haarlem, born there and studied at Leyden. Left for the Indies in 1647 in the ship 'Nieu-Enchuysen.' Arrived at

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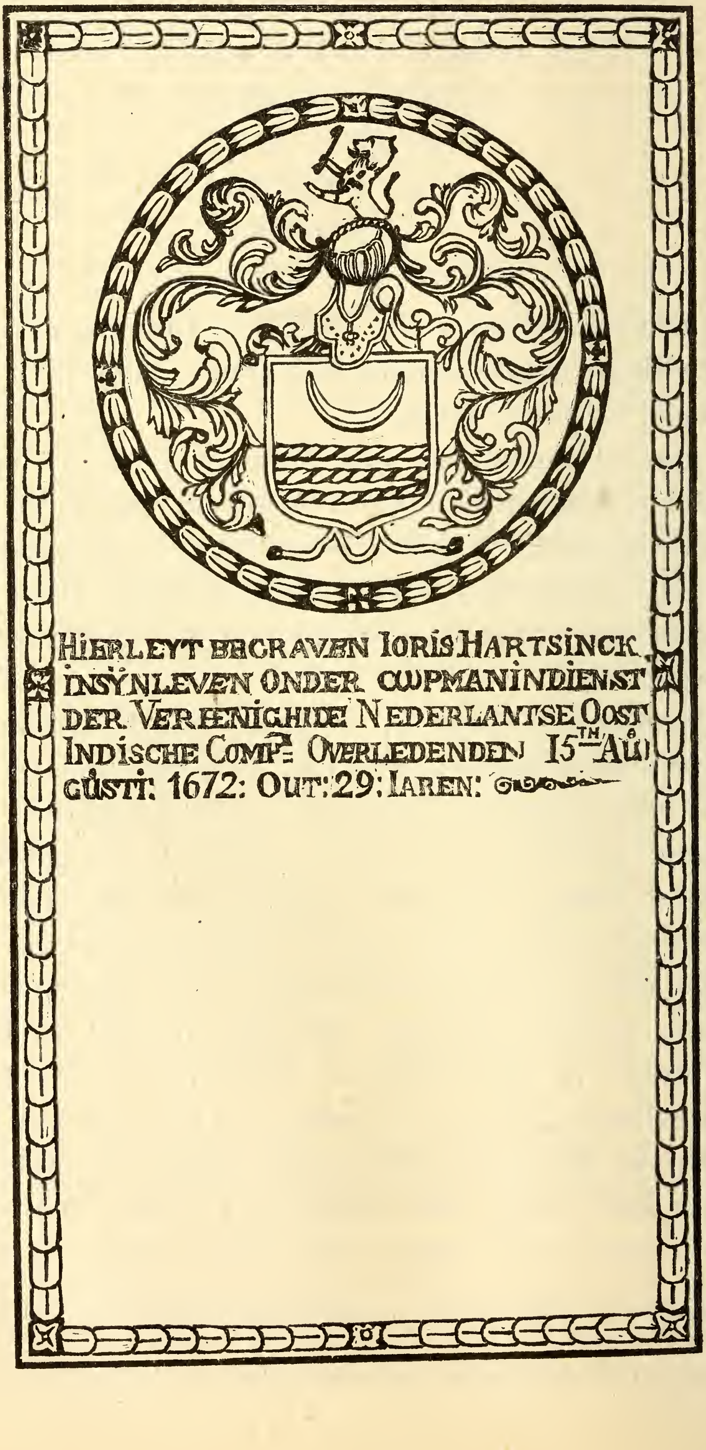
* Journal, vol. XV., No. 49, p. 242, where for "X. 21., p. 472," read "XXXVIII., p. 472."

† Biographisch Woordenboek van Oost-Indische Predikanten.

Java same year (11th July). Held services in the Dutch and native languages at Batavia. Curator of the Latin school (1650). Translated part of the Scriptures into Malay. He died in 1658, having married in Batavia, November, 1647, Maria Henricks (Pot) of Amsterdam."



GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, July 17, 1905.

Present :

His Excellency Sir H. A. Blake, G.C.M.G., Patron, in the Chair.

The Hon. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. T. P. Attygalle, J.P.
Mr. C. Baṭuwantuḍáwa, Advocate.
Mr. W. A. de Silva, J.P.
Dr. W. H. de Silva, M.B., C.M., F.R.C.S.
Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.
Mr. C. M. Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
Mr. W. F. Guṇawardhana, Mudaliyár.
Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka, B.A.
Mr. D. Montagu, A.M.I.C.E.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Mr. D. C. Pedris, Proctor, Supreme Court.
Mr. E. W. Perera, Advocate.
Mr. Tudor Rajapakse, Gate Mudaliyár.
Mr. H. F. Tomalin, F.R.I.B.A.
Mr. G. E. S. S. Weerakoon, Mudaliyár.
Rev. W. J. Wijésiṇha.
Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.S.C., F.R.S.

Visitors : Six ladies and thirty-one gentlemen.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting (March 4, 1905).

2. Mr. J. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary, announced that the following Members had been elected since the last General Meeting, viz. :—

Sir J. Keane.
Dr. C. A. Hévávitárana.
Mr. P. E. S. Dharmasékera.

3. Mr. Harward, Honorary Secretary, read the following Paper :—

NOTES ON THE VARIATIONS OF THE COPPER MASSAS OF SIX SINHALESE RULERS.

By JOHN STILL, Assistant to the Archæological Commissioner.

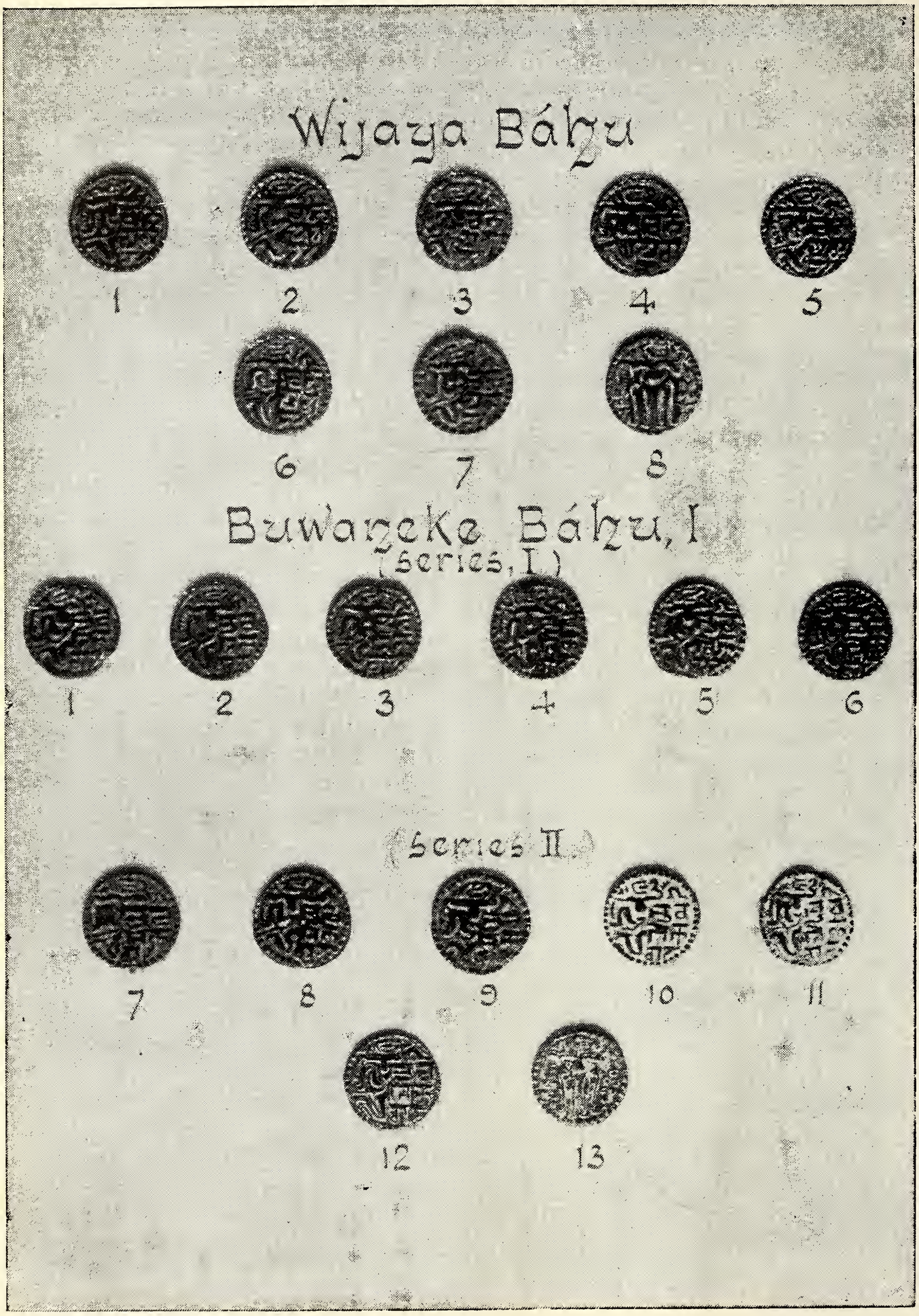
THE six rulers whose coins are described in these notes are Vijaya Báhu, Parákrama Báhu, Sáhasa Malla, Lilávati, Dhammáṣoka Déva, and Bhuvaneka Báhu.

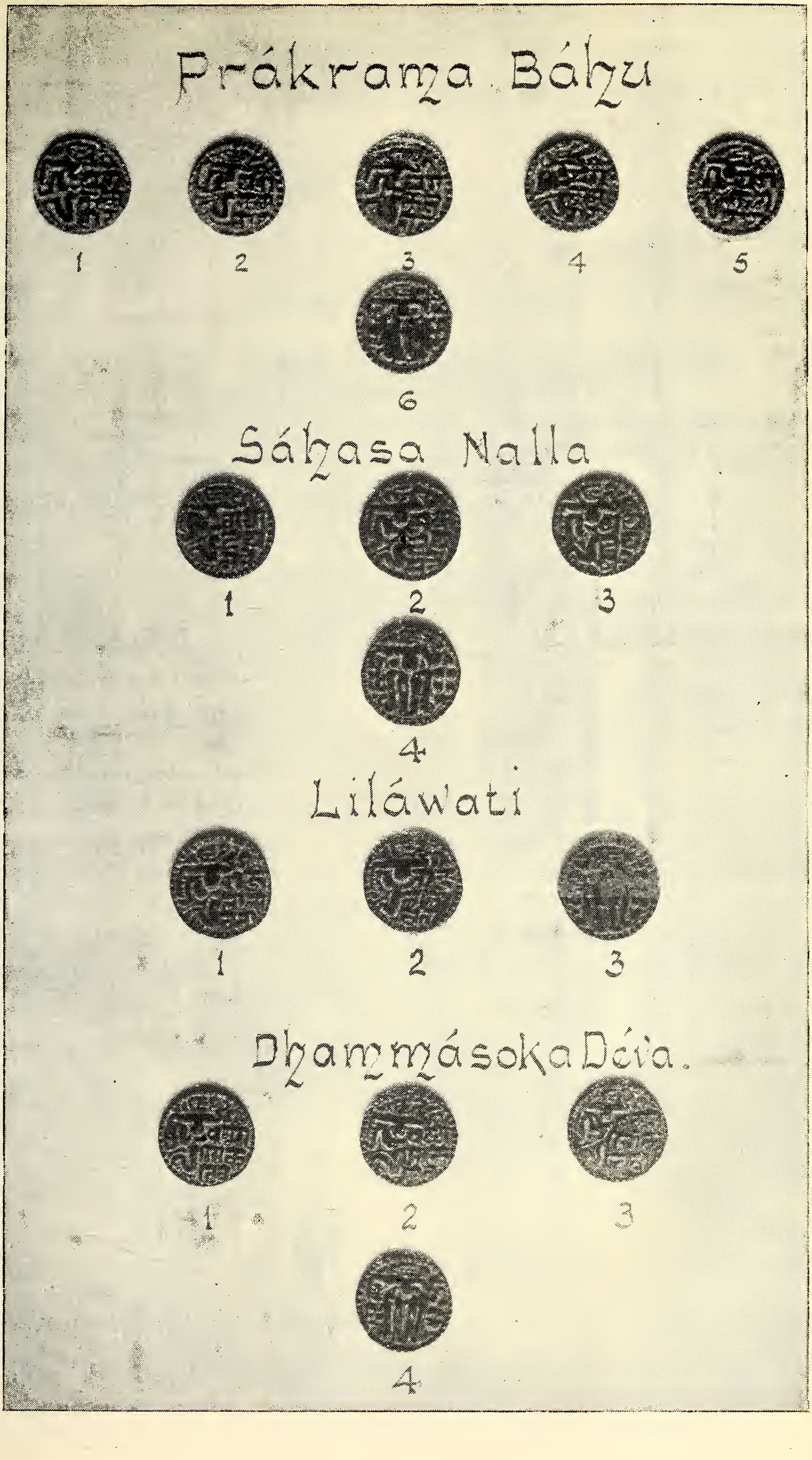
Their coins are all similar in type, differing only in the legend, and to some extent in the metal and workmanship.

But although similar in type, they are eminently variable in many details of execution, such as the proportions of the figures on the obverse and reverse, the size of their heads and the number of fingers on their hands. Much of this is due to rough workmanship, but not all, for in many of the specimens here dealt with there are distinctly different readings from the accepted legend. In some cases, too, one letter of the inscription persistently varies, so that I have been able to obtain a regular sequence of slight differences, which have ended in a letter apparently different from that which started the chain.

In these notes I only attempt to describe the more marked divergences from the common type. For instance, among sixty-four coins of Bhuvaneka Báhu I have figured twelve specimens, whereas it was possible, by taking every slight eccentricity into account, to subdivide these into no less than thirty-one variations.

I have taken the kings in chronological order, on the supposition that each is the first of his name. There can be little doubt concerning Parákrama Bâhu the Great, and none at all regarding Sáhasa Malla, Lilávati, and Dhammá-ṣoka Déva, for there was only one ruler of each name. But Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu are less certain. Vijaya Báhu the First reigned 1065–1120 A.D., the Second reigned 1197–1198, the Third 1236–1240, and the Fourth 1275–1277. There was a Fifth, but he is too modern to concern us here


Wijaya Báhu
1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8
Buwaneke Báhu, I
(Series, I)
1 2 3 4 5 6
Series II
7 8 9 10 11
12 13



Prákrama Báhu
1
2
3
4
5
6
Sáhasa Nalla
1
2
3
4
Liláwati
1
2
3
Dhammásoka Déva.
1
2
3
4

There were four kings named Bhuvaneka Báhu, but only the first two are in the period dealt with, viz., Bhuvaneka Báhu the First, 1277-1288, and Second, 1293–1295.

The gap between Vijaya Báhu I. and Bhuvaneka Báhu I. is one hundred and fifty-seven years. And within this century and a half the other four coins of these notes were current. This being the case, it is natural to expect that such differences as exist between the coins issued by these four rulers will form some sequence of style, connecting the coins of Vijaya Báhu with those of Bhuvaneka Báhu. But this is not by any means borne out by observation.

Far from representing the two opposite ends of a series they resemble each other much more than they do the pseudo intermediate issues. The points especially to be noted are as follows :—

(i.) *Size.*—Measuring a large number of each king's coins I found the averages to work out as follows :—

Parákrama Báhu, diameter averages		...	19·44 millimetres	
Sáhasa Malla,	do.	...	20·20	do.
Lilávati,	do.	...	20·47	do.
Dhammáṣoka Déva,	do.	...	20·40	do.
Bhuvaneka Báhu,	do.	...	19·00	do.
Vijaya Báhu,	do.	...	19·17	do.

(ii.) *Weight.*—Here again the difference, though slight, bears out the measurements. Figures in brackets represent the number of coins weighed to obtain an average.

Parákrama Báhu (100), average weight of each coin 420 milligrammes.

Sáhasa Malla (100), average weight of each coin 440 milligrammes.

Lilávati (68), average weight of each coin 426 milligrammes.

Dhammáṣoka Déva (11), average weight of each coin 427 milligrammes.

Bhuvaneka Báhu (52), average weight of each coin 413 milligrammes.

Vijaya Báhu (86), average weight of each coin 407 milligrammes.

(iii.) *Metal.*—The coins of Parákrama Báhu, Bhuvaneka Báhu, and Vijaya Báhu corrode green, sometimes with a red crust.

The coins of Lilávati, Dhammáṣoka Déva, and Sáhasa Malla corrode green too, but a very much darker green. The second trio do not corrode nearly so much as the first trio, and it is easier to obtain good specimens.

While among a hundred coins of any of the first trio it would be hard to find half a dozen specimens not coated with verdigris, among a similar number of the second trio there would probably be sixty or seventy clean, undamaged specimens of a very dark, nearly black colour.

(iv.) *General workmanship.*—The coins of Vijaya Báhu and Bhuvaneka Báhu are of rougher finish than those of the other four rulers, and show infinitely more careless workmanship. They are not so perfectly rounded, nor so uniform in character. And fifty of either of these varieties would probably produce more variations than five thousand of those of any other king. Whether owing to the rough-cut dies or to the metal being softer, the percentage of good specimens of these two kinds is very small compared to the others. Therein they differ from Parákrama Báhu's issue.

It will be noticed that these two varieties partake more of the character of Parákrama Báhu's coins than of the issues intervening between those and Bhuvaneka Báhu. But they differ so very much in several ways that they really form a class by themselves.

They are ill-rounded and extraordinarily varied in type. Parákrama Báhu's are well cut, and vary very little.

Taking into consideration all these points, in which the two vary from the four but resemble each other, it does not seem likely that the coins represent the first king of the name Vijaya Báhu.

If they do belong to Vijaya Báhu I., the chronological order is thus:—

Vijaya Báhu I., 1065–1120 A.D.
Parákrama Báhu I., 1164–1197 A.D.
Sáhasa Malla, 1200–1202 A.D.
Lilávati, 1208, 1209, and 1211 A.D.
Dhammáṣoka Déva, 1208–1209 A.D.
Bhuvaneka Báhu I., 1277–1288 A.D.

But if the coins can be attributed to Vijaya Báhu III., 1236–1240, or Vijaya Báhu IV., 1275–1277, they will then take their place between Bhuvaneka Báhu I., and all the rest.

This is of course conjecture, but it does not seem improbable.

An additional point in favour of this arrangement is that it gives Parákrama Báhu the Great the credit of having introduced this style of coinage into Ceylon.

Below the six varieties will be found dealt with separately, in chronological order, on the assumption that Vijaya Báhu is the third or fourth of that name.

The numbers in brackets following on, or accompanying the description, refer, if Roman, to series, if Arabic, to individual coins in the accompanying illustrations.

Parákrama Báhu,

Surnamed the Great, 1164–1197 A.D.

Number of coins examined	...	200
Average weight ...	...	420 milligrammes
Average diameter ...	...	19·44 millimetres

General characteristics.—These coins vary very little, and such variations as there are either are such as might be caused by the die becoming clogged or are unimportant in character. They are véry uniform in the proportions of the figures, which have usually the correct number of fingers on their hands.

The corrosion is a rather light green.

The legend is *Ṣrí-Pa-rá-kra-ma-Bá-hu.*

Variations.—The horizontal stroke on the left side of the *rá* is sometimes sloped upwards from the foot of the perpendicular stroke [1], and sometimes at right angles to the perpendicular stroke, starting from its centre [2].

The *ma* is written *Bá* in seven specimens [3], but in 193 specimens it is correctly *ma* [4]. This may be caused by an old die.

The *kra* is usually forked at the foot [4], but in a few instances seems to be *ka*, as in [5].

SÁHASA MALLA,
1200–1202 A.D.

Number of coins examined	...	174
Average weight ...	...	440 milligrammes
Average diameter ...	...	20·20 millimetres

General description.—Only three variations can be found which are not merely slight individual differences; but these three are very marked.

These coins are of different metal to the preceding, and are more deeply struck. In fact they are altogether better made, every letter being clean cut and quite clear. The *Srí* is more perfectly formed than in Parákrama Báhu's, and clearer.

The corrosion is very dark green.

The legend is *Srí-Ma-tsá-ha-sa-ma-lla.*

Variations.—The composite letter *tsá* varies, in that a stroke which I take to represent *t* is sometimes missing. The common (and correct) reading is shown by [1]. That with plain *sá* for *tsá* by [2]. In the 174 specimens examined I found 107 like [1] and 56 with *sá* as in [2], while eleven were illegible.

Of the fifty-six *sá* specimens twenty have yet another variation. For *lla* they have *la* [3].

So there seem to be three readings :—

Ṣri-Ma-tsá-ha-sa-ma-lla [1]
Ṣri-Ma-sá-ha-sa-ma-lla [2]
Ṣri-Ma-sá-ha-sa-ma-la [3]

LILÁVATI,
1208 A.D., 1209 A.D., and 1211 A.D.; reigned three times.

Number of coins examined	...	70
Average weight ...	...	426 milligrammes
Average diameter ...	...	20·47 millimetres

General description.—Less variation than in any of the other varieties examined.

Metal and corrosion the same as Sáhasa Malla. Well struck, clean-cut coins, with an unusually high percentage of good specimens.

The legend is *Rá-ja-li-lá-va-ti.*

Variations.—The *Rá* varies a little, in exactly the same way that the *Rá* on the Parákrama Báhu coins varies. The *ja* also varies in the shape of the loop.

See [1], in which the *Rá* is similar to [1] of Parákrama Báhu, and [2], in which *Rá* is like the *Rá* of Parákrama Báhu [2].

DHAMMÁṢOKA DÉVA,
1208–1209 A.D.

Number of specimens examined	...	11
Average weight ...	...	427 milligrammes
Average diameter ...	...	20·40 millimetres

General description.—As these coins are uncommon I have only been able to examine a small number.

In size, weight, metal, and good workmanship they exactly resemble the coins of Lilávati and Sáhasa Malla. As the coins of all three must have been designed and struck with in a period of ten years this is quite natural. Probably the same artists were in charge of the mint for the whole period.

The legend is *Srí-Dha-mmá-ṣo-ka-dé-va.*

Variations.—Of the eleven specimens available five have the two loops of the *mmá* very unequal in size [1]. Sri have them equal, or nearly so [2].

Of these six, one coin has another variation in the *ṣo.* In this one specimen only [3] the loop of the *s* turns inward instead of outward.

VIJAYA BÁHU.

I.—1065–1120 A.D.	III.—1236–1240 A.D.
II.—1197–1198 A.D.	IV.—1275–1277 A.D.

Number of coins examined	...	95
Average weight ...	...	407 milligrammes
Average diameter ...	...	19·17 millimetres

General description.—Extremely prone to vary, and to vary widely. I do not think that any two of my ninety-five exactly resemble one another. In both weight and diameter these coins are considerably smaller than the last three varieties described, and slightly smaller than the coins of Parákrama Báhu.

The metal, too, is more like that of Parákrama Báhu, and corrodes light green, with a red crust. It is, however, a little

softer than Parákrama's metal, judging by the way the coins have lost their sharp edges.

The *Srí* is much more imperfectly formed than in the last three varieties, always having the vowel affix cramped against the edge, and often lacking it entirely. In this they resemble Parákrama Báhu's. But although they resemble Parákrama Báhu's issue in most ways, in one they are markedly at variance. His coins are very much alike and vary but little, even in the number of fingers on the hand of the figure on the obverse. These coins vary in every possible way, from the reading to the number of fingers, which runs from three to six.

The legend is *Srí-Vi-ja-ya-Bá-hu.*

Variations.—The most important are those of reading: [1] reads *Vá-ja-ya-Bá-hu*; [2] reads the same, but has a different form of *ja*, almost a *ka*, in fact. Like No. 1 there are four specimens; like [2] only the one figured; [3] also is unique: it reads *Va-ja-ya-Bá-hu*, the vowel affix to the *V* being wanting. [4], [5], and [6] all read correctly but vary largely in the way the vowel affix is attached to *Vi* [4] shows *Vi* all in one piece. [5] shows the vowel affix attached as a curved stroke. [6] shows the vowel and consonant quite unconnected.

Of [4], [5], and [6] respectively there are twenty-three, fifteen, and fifty-one specimens. Nine specimens, otherwise resembling [4], have yet another variation. The letter *Bá* seems to read *ma* [7].

Of Nos. [4], [5], and [6] the figures are all those like [4]; have slightly larger heads than the others.

BHUVANEKA BAHU,

1277–1288 A.D.

Number of coins examined	...	64
Average weight ...	...	413 milligrammes
Average diameter ...	...	19·00 millimetres

General description.—All that has been said above about the coins of Vijaya Báhu applies to these as well. They also resemble each other closely in the weights and measurements. The legend is *Srí-Bhu-va-ne-ka-Bá-hu.*

Variation.—These coins vary fully as much as do the last in every way but one, viz., no variation presents a different reading from the correct one, unless one end of series I. can be read *ne* and the other end *Nai.*

Series I. consists of a sequence of variations of this letter *Ne.* [1] shows a simple letter with no additions ; [2] has a slight tick added to the left-hand top corner; [3] a larger tick added to the middle of the horizontal stroke ; [4] a sloping stroke from the right-hand top corner upwards and to the left; (5) the same, more pronounced ; and (6) a horizontal line above and parallel to the original one, and connected to it on the right by a production of the right hand perpendicular stroke.

Between each link of this chain there are many gradations, each too small to recognize separately, but aggregating in the very considerable difference between [1] and [6].

Series II. consists of variations of the letter *Bhu.* These are not so marked as the variations in series I. nor do they run in so nice a sequence ; but they are, I think, worth figuring. Nos. [7] and [8] are rough, rather ill-struck specimens. Nos. [9], [10], and [11] form a sequence, [9] being one letter, consonant and vowel ; [11] consonant and vowel separate ; and [10] intermediate between them.

The gradations of *ne* from [1] to [6] and of *Bhu* from [7] to [11] do not run quite conjunctly; but this might be altered by an examination of a larger number of specimens, which would enable more perfect series to be selected. As it is taking the first four of series I. combined with the first three of series II. to form a type (A), and the last two of either series to form a type (B), forty-nine of my sixty-four specimens fall in type (A) and eleven in type (B) ; this leaves only four exceptions, which are of mixed type.

This looks as though the several gradations of *Bhu* and *ne* could be proved to go hand in hand, were a large enough number of specimens available for examination. [12] is given to show the *hu.* This is the only coin I have seen in which so much of this cramped letter is visible.

H. E. the GOVERNOR : Has any member any observation to make on this Paper ?

Mr. C. M. FERNANDO said that in view of the other two Papers yet to be read he would say only a few words. The Paper was the resumption of a subject which had for some time been forgotten. Since Mr. Rhys Davids wrote his article on the Coins of Ceylon for the "Numismata Orientalia" very little, if anything, has been done.

The Paper suggested that coins bearing the same name did not necessarily belong to one king, but might be the coins of different kings of the same name. They had exactly the same difficulty with the gold Laṇkẹsvara coins. They had several different types in the Museum, and there were more he believed. They had been attributed by Prinsep and Rhys Davids to Parákrama Báhu the Great ; but from the difference apparent in the character of the letters he thought that they might be coins of successive rulers, who all called themselves "Lord of Laṇká."

It seemed to him the point of view from which to examine these coins was not exactly that from which Mr. Still had mainly approached them, namely, measurement and weight. They knew that the renter of the Red Sea Revenues of the Emperor of Rome was cast adrift on the Island of Ceylon in the reign of Claudius. He visited Anuradhápura, and what struck the King of Ceylon most was that the Roman coins then shown to him were of uniform weight, and, unlike in this respect to his own coins. Roman coins were still found in treasure trove. He did not think weight was the proper test whether a coin of Ceylon belonged to one king or another. The proper test was the test of palæography. They were in the happy position, from the possession of inscriptions of various periods, of being able to trace old characters and their development from their Asóka stage up to the present time.

Mr. Fernando then indicated several differences in the appearance and devices on the coins, and concluded by remarking that he threw these suggestions out because he considered that there was plenty of scope for numismatic research in Ceylon.

H. E. the GOVERNOR : I am not a numismatist myself. Am I to understand that the legend on the coin would be in the characters of the time ?

Mr. FERNANDO : Not in Siṇhalese characters. They are in what is called Nágari character.

H. E. the GOVERNOR : I gather that there were certain characters for certain periods. Is it possible that the same characters on coins might be found in the inscriptions at cotemporary ruins ?

Mr. FERNANDO]: I think not. The Siṇhalese Kings used Nágari characters on their coins. Siṇhalese coins had always on them, so far as I know, Nágari characters.

H. E. the GOVERNOR : But Nágari characters in that particular stage of their development ?

Mr. FERNANDO : Yes. Just as we in the British Empire have the Latin language, they used the classical language of the time.

Mr. Ferguson : It is rather remarkable that while so many Ceylon coins are found belonging to the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries so few have been discovered of any earlier period. Yet coins were freely mentioned in the *Maháwaṇsa*, and must have been in use in Ceylon previous to the Christian era.

Mr. Fernando said one coin had been found attributed to the second century before Christ and supposed to be of King Walagam Báhu. It was an oblong coin, not gold, with a figure of a king on one side and an emblem on the other side—the earliest coin so far obtained in Ceylon.*

H. E. the Governor : I think some of the Japanese coins were oblong in shape.

4. Mr. Harward next read the following Paper entitled " Note on a Dutch Medal," by F. H. de Vos, Barrister-at-Law :—

[* Mr. Fernando appears to refer to the oblong copper plaques unearthed at Mágama by Mr. H. Parker and elsewhere. Their attribution to Wattagamini Abaya (Walagam Báhu) is fanciful. The oldest known coins found in Ceylon, as well as India, are the irregular " *eldings* " plain, and " punch marked." —B., *Ed. Sec.*]

NOTE ON A DUTCH MEDAL.

By F. H. DE VOS, Barrister-at-Law, and Member of the Society of Dutch Literature, &c., of Leyden.

THE silver medal of which a sketch accompanies this Paper, was recently purchased for the Museum and is on exhibition there. Mr. Gerard A. Joseph, the Secretary of the Museum and Honorary Secretary of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, sent me all the correspondence in connection with the medal, particularly letters from Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, the Government Archivist, and Mr. J. P. Lewis, C.C.S. From the documents sent and illustrations of the medal I write this note, supplementing it with notes of my own. The medal is commemorative of the silver wedding of Johannes Timmers and Susanna Libertina van Schinne.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz, the Government Archivist, writes:—

"I make out that the building on the obverse is intended to represent the temple Concordia. The figures on the top and sides of the dome are clearly emblematic of the goddess. The design is purely classical and in keeping with Roman customs. The altar in the front of the temple, the fire over which the bride and bridegroom, in toga and tunic, are pouring water, and the inscriptions are all perfectly consistent. The day of the month is given on the lower fascia of the entablature thus: X. KAL. NOV. R = 23 October, and the motto ANIMOS CONCORDIA REGIT contains the year 1703 (MDCCIII). The words on the reverse, MVTVA CONNVBII RENOVANTVR FOEDERA CASTI, contain the year 1728 (MDCCVVVVVIII)."

Mr. Lewis also deciphered the date independently of Mr. Anthonisz.

The following translation of the inscriptions is submitted :—

Reverse.

The arms of an ancient stock
from one and the same root.
After five lustres
silver gifts
Announce the nuptial torches and joys of Timmers
and his dear Schinne : their kinsmen earnestly
desire the golden
Their common vows of stainless wedlock are renewed.

Obverse.

Joh. Timmers and Sus. Lib. van Schinne
23 Oct.
Their minds are ruled by harmony.

I take the blazons of the arms on the reverse from Rietstap's "Armorial Général" (2nd ed.).

Dexter Shield TIMMERS (Rotterdam). Coupé : au 1 de gu à un cerf couché d'arg bouclé et ramé d'or : au 2 d'or a une roue de cinq rayons de sa.

Cimier. le cerf iss.

Sinister Shield VAN SCHINNE (Holl au 16 Sept. 1815. M ét).

Dázur à un cerf ramp. d'or.

Cimier. le cerf iss.

S. deux griffons reg. d'or, lamp de gu.

D. Per aspera ad austra.

The following are some genealogical particulars about *Johannes Timmers* and *Susanne Libertina van Schinne* :—

Peter van Schinne, a courtier or nobleman of *Louise de Colligny*, daughter of the Secretary of *Prince Willem I.*, was born in Brussels in the year 1554 and married at Delft *Anna de Jong*. He had by her :—

Isaac van Schinne,* Vice-admiral, chief of the Dutch settlements in Japan and Ambassador there, born in Delft

* LIV. Navorscher 690. LV. Navorscher 61.

A° 1608, married at Brielle, 1632, *Susanna Vroylick*, and had by her :—

Isaac van Schinne, born in Middelburg, 3rd January, 1640, died there 18th September, 1696; married (1) *Catharina Dammaert* and (2) *Aletta de Bitter*, widow of *G. Vreeland*. *Susanna Libertina van Schinne*, born 19th December, 1684, died in Rotterdam, 12th December, 1732, was a child of this second marriage. *Johan Timmers*, her husband, was Secretary of Rotterdam and died there 12th February, 1738. He was the son of *Pieter Timmers*, born 1655, and *Ignatia van Zoelen*, died 1707. *Johannes Timmers* and *Susanna Libertina van Schinne* were the parents of *Ignatia Gertruida Timmers*, born 18th June, 1714, died 15th April, 1733; married 24th June, 1732, Paulus Boogaart* of Ablasserdam, Burgomaster of Rotterdam, 1769, born 21st May, 1703, died at Brussels, 1799.

The *G(errard) Vreeland* above-named was most likely the grandfather of *Gerrardus Joan Vreeland*,† Governor of Ceylon (6th March, 1751, to 26th February, 1752). The medal no doubt belonged to the family of *Governor Vreeland*.

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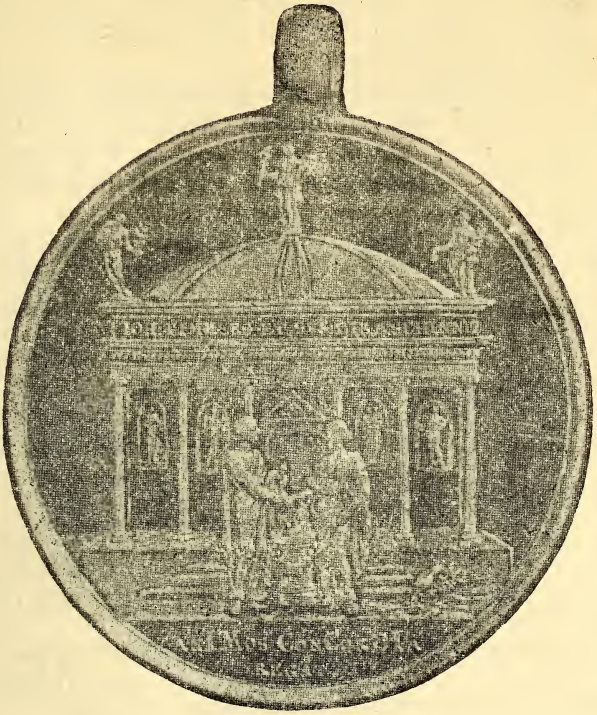
* Aanzienlyke Ned. Familien I. Vorsteman van Oyen, p. 80.

† Journal, R.A.S., C.B., 1898, vol. XV., No. 49, p. 234. Journal, R.A.S., 91C.B., 01, vol. XVII., No. 52, pp. 17, 18, 44.



H. E. the GOVERNOR : If I remember aright, Mr. de Vos points out that particular interest attached to the subject because probably the medal was struck at the marriage of the grandfather of a Governor of Ceylon—Governor Vreeland.

Mr. R. G. ANTHONISZ said he thought that the chief interest in the medal arose from the well-established custom of the Dutch in Ceylon which it illustrated. The Dutch, like the Germans he believed, celebrated their silver weddings with a great deal of ceremony and some peculiar customs.

One of these customs was the distribution and presentation of medals. Sometimes the medal would be struck from dies specially prepared, and these medals used to be distributed among the friends of the family. Sometimes again a couple of medals only would be engraved, and these were presented to the happy couple.

He knew the custom was prevalent in Ceylon during the Dutch period, and even after that. It was within his own recollection that thirty or forty years ago medals used to be distributed at these silver weddings. The custom gradually changed, and in the course of time, instead of medals being distributed or presented extensively, two only used to be engraved, and two intimate friends, a male and female friend respectively, would present them to the married couple. The medal was often attached to a silver chain and thrown round the neck of the two spouses.

There were several of these medals still extant in the possession of representatives of the families to which they relate. He would mention two of them as being of particular interest.

One was in commemoration of the silver wedding of Governor Thomas van Rhee, then Commandeur of Galle, who was married to a Miss Kriekenbeek. It was the oldest medal of the kind he remembered to have seen. He believed the celebration took place in 1684. A beautifully preserved specimen of this medal was now in the possession of a member of the Kriekenbeek family in Colombo. The dates of the birth of the two spouses, of the marriage, and of the twenty-fifth anniversary, with other particulars, appeared on one side, and the arms of van Rhee and Kriekenbeek on separate shields were shown on the other.

The second medal was somewhat later in point of date. It was distributed at the silver wedding of a Mr. Schroter and another Miss Kriekenbeek.. This was a medal beautifully stamped in relief from a die and bore emblematic figures. The specimen he saw was in the possession of Mr. Justice Wendt, who, he believed, acquired it as a family heirloom through the Kriekenbeeks.

The Dutch were particularly fond of the custom of presenting medals on auspicious occasions. The medals granted by them to native chiefs for special services rendered to the Government were highly prized by their representatives of the present day, and worn by them on special occasions.

Not long ago he saw a beautiful gold medal, which he understood had been offered for sale at the Museum but for a prohibitive figure. It was a gift from a Dutch Clergyman in Colombo, Mr. Gerardus Potken, to his granddaughter on her first birthday. It had an inscription on one side and a quartered shield, being the Potken arms, on the other.

5. Mr. C. M. FERNANDO then read the following Paper entitled "Notes on Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Ratnapura District" (Nawaduṇ and Kuruwiṭi Kóralés), by Mr. A. K. Coomáraswámy :—

NOTES ON PADDY CULTIVATION CEREMONIES IN THE RATNAPURA DISTRICT (NAWADUN AND KURUWITI KORALES).

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, B.Sc.

THE following notes are intended merely to supplement the information already available[1] on the subject of Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies ; they are based on observations and inquiries made at various places within ten miles of Ratnapura. The customs are slowly dying out, and are often neglected or forgotten by the younger generation. In one place one part, in another other parts, of the ceremonial procedure may be observed.

The *kamat-hẹlla* or threshing-floor song forms the main feature of this Paper; it is of much interest, as giving full details of the proper preparation of the *arak* or talisman that is deposited in the *arakwaḷa* or "arak-hole" in the threshing-floor. I believe there may be other versions of some parts of the song, as I have heard verses sung in which Gaṇa deviyó (Gaṇéṣa) and, I think, other gods were also invoked. It is

[1] See especially—

H. C. P. Bell, "Sinhalese Customs and Ceremonies connected with Paddy Cultivation in the Low-Country," Journal, C.B.R.A.S , vol. VIII., No. 26, 1883, pp. 44–93.

H. C. P. Bell, "Paddy Cultivation Ceremonies in the Four Kóralés, Kẹgalla District," *ib.*, vol. XI., No. 39, 1889, pp. 17–21.

And also—

R. W. Ievers, "Customs and Ceremonies connected with Paddy Cultivation," *ib.*, vol. VI., No. 21, 1880, pp. 46–52.

J. P. Lewis, "Tamil Customs and Ceremonies connected with Paddy Cultivation in the Jaffna District," *ib.*, vol. VIII., No. 29, 1884, pp. 304–333.

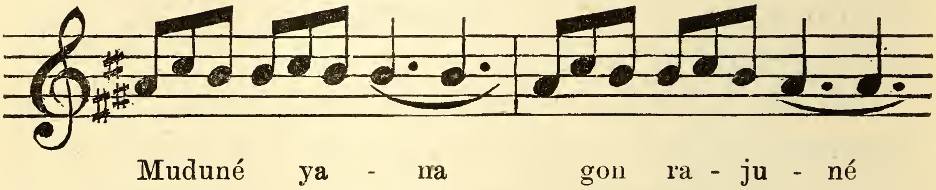
J. P. Lewis, "The Language of the Threshing-floor," *ib.*, vol. VIII., No. 29, 1884, pp. 237–270.

C. J. R. Le Mesurier, "Customs and Superstitions connected with the Cultivation of Rice in the Southern Province of Ceylon," Journal, R.A.S., Great Britain, vol. XVII. (N.S.), 1885, pp. 366–372.

H. C. P. Bell, "Superstitious Ceremonies connected with the Cultivation of Al-wi or Hill Paddy," *Orientalist*, vol. III., 1888–1889, pp. 99–103.

H. Nevill, "An early Arak-gala or Threshing-floor Charm," *Taprobanian*, vol. II., Part IV., 1887, p. 97.

by no means generally well known, and often only a few verses can be sung. It is chanted line by line by some old man who knows it well, and repeated after him in chorus by the men at work, while the paddy is being trodden out. The effect of the whole scene on a bright moonlight night is very impressive. It is difficult to set down the notes on which the words are intoned or chanted, as unless a man is a good singer he does not keep constantly to the same air; and the members of the chorus often sing together in several different keys at once. Nevertheless the effect is good. The following is, with many variations, one of the airs to which the words are sung:—



There are a number of euphemistic terms of the usual character employed, *e.g.*, ලියනවා, to cut. There are also many technical agricultural terms. The song must be a very ancient one, and is handed down by word of mouth; so far as I know it has never yet been printed.

I give also seven charms that are used to protect the grain from various injuries or to promote its general growth. One of the charms (No. 8) is referred to in verse 5 of the *kamat-hẹlla.*

Finally there is briefly described a "fire-walking ceremony," intended to promote the general welfare of the village as well as the abundance of crops. This is, however, less directly connected with the cultivation.

The words of the *kamat-hẹlla* are given, with some corrections in spelling,* as written down for me by an old man at Niriẹlla, about five miles from Ratnapura, this year. It is sung while threshing is going on, but not, of course continuously the whole time. At the conclusion all the cultivators shout *ándu ándu* (?) and *hẹri hẹri.*

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* For these I am indebted to Mudaliyár J. D. Abegoonewardene and Mudaliyár A. Mendis Gunasekara.

කමත් හැල්ල.[1]

1. බුඩං සරණයද බ ලේ
ධම්මං සරණයද බ ලේ
සඞ්ඝං සරණයද බ ලේ
මෙතුන් සරණ කමත බ ලේ

2. ඉරිදෙවියෝ වැඩිය තැ නේ
බොල් පිණි නොතිබෙයි එතැ නේ
සඳ දෙවියෝ වැඩිය තැ නේ
කරුවල නොතිබෙයි එතැ නේ

3. මහ ගජතුන් බැන්ද තැ නේ
කණුමුල් නොතිබෙයි එතැ නේ
සැම[2] දෙවියෝ වැඩිය තැ නේ
උවදුරු නොතිබෙයි එතැ නේ

4. වී සහ බිජු වපුළ කල ට
ගිරානිල්ල වෙන තරම ට
දිය බඳිමින් නිසි තරම ට
ගින් බණ්ඩි වෙන ගොයම ට

5. දියබඳිමින් නියර උස ට
කිරිදී[3] කිරිවදින කල ට[4]
කරල් නැමී නැගෙන ඉර ට
ගොයම් පැසී තිබෙන කල ට

6. නැකත් බලා[5] ගොයම් ලි යා[6]
කමතට නිසි බිමක් සො යා
නැකත් බලා කමත ලි යා
කමත වටට වැල් ඇඳ යා[7]

7. කමතක් සැහැ කාව්‍ය ලෙස ට
කැට කර කැටකඳු[8] එක්කො ට
වටටම වටමළු[9] එක්කොට ට
කමත සුද්දකර[10] විගස ට

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[1] හැල්ල hẹlla (from සැල්ල sẹlla, a contraction of සැහැල්ල *sẹhẹlla*).

[2] Perhaps Saman deviyó is meant, but as it stands [in the MS. ශම; but ශ is not a letter belonging to pure Elu in which poetry was written, although it is not infrequently found in Kandyan MSS.] the words mean "all the gods." I have heard other words sung in which Gaṇa deviyó was also mentioned.

[3] "Having offered milk." This refers to a *kema* or charm, for an account of which see below, No. 6.

[4] "At the milk-entering time," *i.e.*, when the young grains are becoming filled with soft milky endosperm before the grain sets.

[5] The auspicious hour may be determined by a regular astrologer or by an ordinary cultivator acquainted with astrology. For further particulars see H. C. P. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., No. 26, p. 78.

Threshing-floor Song.

1. The strength of refuge in Buddha,
The strength of refuge in Dharmma,
The strength of refuge in the Sangha —
In these three refuges is the strength of the threshing floor :

2. Where the sun god appears
There will remain no dew drops,
Where the moon god appears
There will remain no darkness,

3. Where the great tuskers are tied up
There will remain no tree stumps,
Where all the gods appear
There will be no mishaps,

4. At the time of sowing paddy and seed paddy,
When it waxes parrot green,
Turning in the water to the right degree—
When the seed is just maturing in the ear,

5. Turning in the water to the level of the balk,
And having offered milk at the milk-entering time,
The ears bending towards the East—
At the time the paddy ripens,

6. Having found out a good hour and reaped the paddy,
Having chosen a good place for the threshing-floor,
Having found out a good hour and weeded it,
And drawn creepers round the floor,

7. Having in a circle scraped the threshing-floor,
Having made and put the sheaves together into *keṭakanḍu*,
And gathered into *waṭamaḷu* all around,
And having purified the threshing-floor,

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[6] ලියා, reaped ; this word is used euphemistically to avoid the harsher term කපා, cut.

[7] *Cf.* J. P. Lewis, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 312 ; and H. C. P. Bell, *ib.*, vol. VIII., p. 48, for references to a "guard cord." Such do not appear to be actually used.

[8] "And put together into *keṭakandu*," *i.e.*, arranged the sheaves in cocks previous to stacking in regular *waṭamaḷu*.

[9] *Waṭamaḷu.* These are the stacks in which the paddy is arranged ready for threshing. They are ring-shaped, with a central space big enough for a man to stand in ; the paddy is arranged with the ears pointing inwards.

[10] "Purified." This refers to cow-dunging the floor and sprinkling it with "milk" made of sandalwood ground with cocoanut milk.

8. කමත මැදින් අරක් වළ ක්[1]
ඒමැද්දේ ගොන්කණුව ක්[2]
කණුවේ අග පුවක් මල ක්
ගොන් කණුවට ගලඔටුව ක්[3]

9. දවට පිළිල[4] හරිකරගෙ ණ
දෙහි පිළිල හරිකරගෙ ණ
නුග පිළිල හරිකරගෙ ණ
බුලත් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ ණ

10. දෙඩම් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ ණ
ඉළුක් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ ණ
ගොයම් පිළිල හරිකරගෙ ණ
පිළිල හතම හරිකරගෙ ණ

11. අරක් බෙල්ලා[5] හරිකරගෙ ණ
රබ්බඩ ගෙඩි හතක් රුගෙ ණ
කදුරු[6] කොළද හරිකරගෙ ණ
වරකා ගැටයක්[7] ඇරගෙ ණ

12. මීගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ ණ
නයිගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ ණ
එළුගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ ණ
අස්ගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ ණ

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[1] The *arak* is a talisman protecting the threshing-floor from charms or any misfortunes; its theoretical ingredients are detailed in verses 9 to 16. In practice most of these are omitted; the arecanuts, the sickle, the *arak-bellá*, and the ears of paddy at least are used, and often some other of the more easily obtained objects, such as the *kaduru* leaves, young jak fruit, the metals and gems, and also a *gon-góre* if there is one to be had, which is often not the case.

[2] *Gonkaṇuwa*, the bull post, is an areca tree planted firmly in the centre of the floor, and to which the bulls are fastened while they are driven round it in a circle.

[3] *Galaoṭuwa* (the correct form would be ගැළොටුව *gęloṭuwa*, from Siṇhalese ගැළ, a pair or team of oxen, and connected with Tamil ஓட்டுகிறது, to drive). This is the jungle rope by which the bulls are fastened to the bull post; at one end is a loop passing round the post; the other end is fastened to the rope by which the bulls are yoked together. The number of bulls used varies from four to twelve, the latter being the full complement; they are yoked in two sets of six each, and

8. (Having made) in the middle of the threshing-floor an arak-hole,
(And set up) a bull post in the middle of it,
And on its end a *puwak* flower,
(And round) for the bull post a *galaoṭuwa*,

9. Having got some *dawaṭa piḷila*,
Having got some *dehi piḷila*,
Having got some *nuga piḷila*,
Having got some *bulat piḷila*,

10. Having got some *doḍam piḷila*,
Having got some *iḷuk piḷila*,
Having got some *goyam piḷila*,
Having got these seven *piḷila*,

11. Having got the *arak bellá*,
Having brought seven red ripe arecanuts,
And also seven leaves of *kaduru*,
Having brought a very young *warakà* jak fruit,

12. Having got as well the *górë* of a buffalo,
And also having got the *górë* of a cobra,
And also having got the *górë* of a goat,
And also having got the *górë* of a horse,

---

follow each other round the post trampling out the corn. They are driven by boys, who catch what is voided in the basal leaf sheaths of the areca palm and throw it away from the floor.

[4] *Piḷila*, *i.e.*, *Loranthus*, a parasite resembling honeysuckle, common on many trees in Ceylon; the trees mentioned are *dawaṭa* (*Carallia integerrimna* DC.), *dehi* (lime), *nuga* (*Ficus altissima*, Bl. var. *laccifera* Roxb.), *bulat* (betel) *doḍam* (orange); but I do not know what the *piḷila* of *iḷuk* (*Imperata arundinacea*, Cyr.) or paddy can be. *Iḷuk* leaves are, however, put into the *arakwaḷa*, perhaps as a substitute.

[5] *The arak-bellá* is a seven-fingered *aporrhais*-like marine shell, placed with the *arak* in the *arakwaḷa*, apparently corresponding to the *mutta* of Mr. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 49.

[6] *Kaduru*, *Tabernæmontana dichotoma*, Roxb.

[7] There are two kinds of jak fruit, *warakà* and *wẹla*; the former, being firm textured and of a golden colour, is preferable to the latter, which is soft.

13.	ඇත්ගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	ගොන්ගෝරෙත්[1] හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	මුවගෝරෙත් හරිකරගෙ	ණ
	ගෝරහතම හරිකරගෙ	ණ
14.	රිදී රත්තරන් ඇරගෙ	ණ
	තඹ පිත්තල සපයාගෙ	ණ
	ලෝකඩ වානේ ඇරගෙ	ණ
	යකඩෙන් දෑකැත්තක් ගෙ	ණ
15.	රත්න ජාති හැකිපමණී	නා
	මුතු ඇටයක් සූරකිව ගෙ	ණ
	පබළුත් සපයා ඇරගෙ	ණ
	මෙකී සැමදේ ඇරගෙ	ණ
16.	නැකත් බලා අරක් ති	යා
	අරක් වළේ බැතක්[2] ති	යා
	ඊට උඩින් ගොයම්[3] ති	යා
	මෙකී ලෙසට නිවැරදි	යා
17.	හරක් ගෙණත් කමත තුළ	ට
	බාන් වැලක්[4] රැගෙණ අත	ට
	ගලතාලා නිසි හැටිය	ට
	දෙවියන් සිහිකරගණ සි	ට[5]
18.	මුදුනේ යන ගොන් රජූ	නේ
	ඊලඟ යන වේරිය	නේ
	කලාත යන නාම්බ	නේ
	මඩවදමව් විගසකි	නේ
19.	අං දෙක රන් ගාව	ඤ්ඤා
	කන්දෙක මුතු අමුන	ඤ්ඤා
	හුණරේ[6] මුතු අමුන	ඤ්ඤා
	මෙකී ලෙසට සරස	ඤ්ඤා

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[1] The *górë* of a bull; some bulls have a habit of licking their bodies and so hair gets on the tongue and ultimately finds its way to the stomach and forms there a matted ball. Such bulls are said to be unable to bellow, or at least not to do so properly. The ball of hair may be emitted from the mouth, and is called *górë*; one that I obtained was about two inches in diameter. The *góra* of the other hairy animals mentioned must be analogous. The cobra's *górë* may possibly refer to the stone or gem which is said to be put out of the mouth and to provide a light, within the

13. And also having got the *góré* of a tusker
And also having got the *góré* of a bull
And also having got the *góré* of a deer
These seven *góra* having got;

14. Having taken gold and silver,
Taken (also) brass and copper,
And taken bronze and steel,
And an iron sickle having taken,

15. As many sorts of gems as possible,
And one pearl having chosen out,
And coral also having taken,
Having taken all things told of here,

16. Having found out a good hour and put the *arak* in
And put some paddy also in the arak-hole,
And over it some ears of paddy,
As here is stated, making no mistake,

17. And having brought the cattle on the threshing-floor.
And taken in your hand a *bánwęl*,
And duly yoked (the beasts) together,
Standing mindful of the gods—

18. (Say) O Bull king, going on the top,
O Wériya, going next him,
And young bull Kaláta not yet gelded,
Quickly get the threshing done:

19. I will get your two horns gilded,
Get your two ears decked with pearls,
Your dew claws also decked with pearls,
In this way I will deck you.

---

radius of which the cobra moves about. The *góré* of an elephant is said to be something found in the tooth. In practice only the *gon-góré* is used, and even this is often not available; a man who owns one is able to hire it out for use on different threshing-floors. See also H. C. P. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 49.

[2] *Bęta*, *i.e.*, a handful of paddy from last year's crop.

[3] *Goyam*, *i.e.*, paddy in the ear (from the present crop).

[4] *Bánwęl*, the jungle rope or creeper used for yoking buffaloes (actually however *weniwęl* is generally used).

[5] This line gives the key to the spirit of the whole song.

[6] *Huṇaré*, shortened form of හුණුකුරෙ, *huṇukure.*

20. ගොණු යන්නේ කඳුබොඩ ලූ
ගලතන්නේ කලවැල ලූ[1]
පලඳින්නේ මුතු පබ ලූ
වලඳන්නේ කිරිමදු ලූ[2]

21. ඉහළ වෙලේ තියෙන බැ තා[3]
පහළවෙලේ තියෙන බැ තා
අටුකොටුවල තියෙන බැ තා
ඇද පුරවන් මේ කම තා

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20. Bulls that wander by the hillsides,
Yoked together with the *kalawęl*,
Wearing pearls and coral beads,
And eating *kiri madu*,

21. The paddy in the upper field,
The paddy in the lower field,
The paddy in the stores and barns,
Draw and fill into this threshing-floor.

The following further details may be noted with regard to threshing :—

Áṇḍukirima ceremony.—This ceremony, known under this name (ආණ්ඩුකිරීම), is rarely performed so far as I can learn. It was carefully described to me by a man from Goḍigomuwa and stated to be performed in the Gilimalé district. (From the same man I obtained also the charms given below, the directions being very clearly written out and made clear by means of excellent descriptive diagrams.)[4]

After the *arak* has been placed in the *arakwaḷa* the following objects are represented in ashes on the floor : a

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[1] *Kalawęl*, *Derris scandens*, Benth.

[2] *Madulu* means the segments of a fruit, especially ripe jak fruit ; here, however, the real word is මද, mada, and the ලු, lu, is added for the sake of rhyme. The *maduwęl* is a creeper, of which there are two or more varieties recognized. The *kiri madu* or sweet madu mentioned here is one (*Ipomœa*, sp., probably *I. cymosa*, R.) the leaves of which are given to very young buffaloes when they are first weaned, and also to sick buffaloes.

[3] The last verse is practically identical with the lines quoted by Mr. Bell, Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 53. Compare also verses 18 and 21 with those quoted by Mr. Lewis, *ib.*, vol. VIII., pp. 269, 270.

[4] These MSS. as well as that of the *kamat-hęlla* have been handed over to the C.B.R.A.S.

sickle, conch, scraper (*póruwa*), billhook (*keṭi*), and two brooms (*pamba kossa* and *idala kossa*).

Subsequently four *goyiyo* recite the following charm as they walk three times round the floor. Two *goyiyo* take *deṭi* (pitchforks) and lay them across the backs of their necks and hook their elbows in them ; a third man does the same, but with straw hanging from the ends of the *deṭi*. The fourth man carries a goad for driving bulls. The words recited are as follows :—

රන් දැති රිදී දැති ගැට දෙමට නික පිල වරා දැති පසක් ගෙණමින් දැති පසක්ගෙණ එගල් මෙගල් බොඩ අඬනා කළුදු කළු වැසි වස්සා මේ කමතට අරග්ගත් ගොයියෝ. මැඩුනු කොළ ගණිති, නොමඩුනු කොළ සලාලති. මේ කමතට අරග්ගත් ගොයියෝ වැඩ කරති, දෙයියො බලාසිටිති ආණ්ඩු. ආණ්ඩු.

Gold *deṭi*, silver *deṭi*, *geṭa demaṭa*, *nika*, *pila*, *wará deṭi*,[1] of those, five *deṭi* taking, (and) of these, five *deṭi* taking, that *galboḍa* this *galboḍa*[2] crying, black daughter, black calf and heifer, *goyiyo* that guard this floor. They take well-threshed paddy, they toss the unthreshed paddy and let the grain fall. *Goyiyo* that guard this floor are working, the gods keep watch. Peace, peace !

This is an interesting variant of the formula given by Mr. Bell (Journal, C.B.R.A.S., vol. VIII., p. 50).

Another use of ashes.—After the corn is all threshed and the straw removed, in the night, it is left on the threshing-floor, occupying the centre of it, and is protected by a single continuous ring of ashes round it.

Winnowing.—After threshing is completed a tall bamboo is set up close to the *gonkaṇuwa* and cross bars erected at a convenient height, and over the top cadjans to keep off the sun ; this erection is called වී හුලගේ අරින කතිරේ, *wí hulangé ariṇa katiré ;* the winnower climbs up on to the cross bars and takes the paddy in a *kulla* and gently sifts it over the edge, so that the grains of paddy fall just below him while the chaff is blown away by a slight breeze.

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[1] *Pila*, *Tephrosia purpurea*, Pers. ; *Wará*, *Calotropis gigantea ; geṭa demaṭa*, *Gmelina asiatica*. The other trees not certain.

[2] *Galboḍa*, rocky ridge or line of rocks.

Threshing by men.—Even in the same field part of the paddy may be threshed by buffaloes and other part by men ; the latter being too poor to possess buffaloes and unwilling to give a share of paddy due for their hire.

Charms.

The following charms are used to avert various disasters, or merely to promote the general growth of the crop :—

(1) *If the young paddy plants die off.*—A plantain tree is set up in the middle of the field and decorated with young cocoanut leaves and areca flowers and two lighted torches, one on each side of the tree. The *kaṭṭaḍiyá* must enter the field from the east side, and after completing the charm leave it on the west. A little fowl's blood in a leaf cup (ගොටුව, *goṭuwa*) is placed on each side of the entrance. The *kaṭṭaḍiyá* must wear a clean cloth and go to and from the field alone without speaking ; this applies to all the charms here described.

(2) *If the plants are eaten by rats.*—A *taṭuwa*[1] is prepared and five kinds of flowers offered on it and a lighted buffalo-ghee lamp placed on it. A thread spun by a virgin is taken and knotted seven times, and the following charm repeated seven times for each knot, after which the charmed thread is burned in the field and left there.

ඕං ශ්‍රීං ගුත්තිලානන් මූසිකානන් කලහන්තේ න ඝාන්තු: සූර ගුරුළු නමඃ නමඃ : ඕං නමො කට්ටන් විට්ටං අරිවිට්ටන් පෝ පෝ සවාමියානේ පොඃ : ඕං ශරනැඤ අරහන්තං නමාමි නමඃ.

Om ! holy ! Guttila[2] rats quarrels destroy : Guruḷu god hail ! hail ! hail to Om ! I will tie you, I will kill you, begone ! begone ! Oh god, begone ! Om ! I bow before the "sin-destroyer's" (Buddha's) foot, hail !

Of this, the first part is Sanskrit, the middle Tamil, and the end Siṇhalese.

(3) *If the ears die off at the time of flowering.*—Place on the *taṭuwa* (*lit.* මල්බුලත් තටුවක්, flower betel shelf) seven betel leaves, seven lamp wicks, seven leaf cups of milk

[1] *I.e.*, a small decorated platform or shelf of young cocoanut leaves, &c., supported on four sticks, such as is commonly used in devil ceremonies.

[2] *Músila* was Guttila Bodisat's rival ; *músika* is a rat ; taking advantage of this resemblance in the words, the charmer prays Guttila to treat the rats as he did *Músila*.

(කිරිගොටු) ; then whistling (හුරුවන්කර) thrice proceed northwards, and when near the boundary of the field clap the hands behind the back three times and spend that night only in a place where there are no other persons.

(4) *If white ants eat the roots.*—Take a handful of sand from an untrodden place and repeat the charm ඕං ශ්‍රීං බහිරව වටුක පුලයන්තු නමඃ ("Om ! holy ! Bahirawa——burst up, hail !") a hundred and eight times over a little sand and throw it away in the field.

(5) *If the plants are sucked by flies* (මැස්සො බොනවාට).—Place four lime thorns in the four corners of the field ; put five lime sticks in the middle of the field, and taking a little king cocoanut oil repeat the charm ඕං මුනි මහාමුනි අඞ්ගුලිමාල තෙරුන් අණින් මෙහි ඇප කැප හැර ඕඩු ඕඩු නමඃ ("Om Muní ! great Muní, by the order of Ańgulimála Théra[1] relinquish your rights here, run ! run ! hail ! ") nine times over a little of the oil, then light a lamp and go away.

(6) කිරිකෙම, *Kirikema*, to promote the flow of milky sap into the young grains at the "milk-entering time" (කිරි වදින කලට).

Take a forked *rukattana*[2] stick (රුක්අත්තන බලට්ටක්[3]) and decorate it with young cocoanut leaves and areca flowers; on Saturday evening clear a place near a jak tree, sprinkling sandalwood milk-water (හඳුං කිරි පැන්), and make an enclosure with young cocoanut leaves ready for the ceremony ; next day go before the crow caws (කපුටා අඬන්ට පළමු), and taking a little milk from the jak tree put it "in a leaf cup" (ගොටුවකට); into the same vessel put milk of *kaduru*,[4] *daḷuk*, cocoanut, and *del;* then taking these five sorts of milk and a little *kaḷu-duru*, *sudu-duru* (spices), *sudu-lúnu*

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[1] Ańgulimála Théra.—In the Ańgulimála Sútra, Ańgulimála was a man who killed 999 persons and made a garland of their fingers (whence his name). He was converted by Buddha, and became a priest and attained Nirwáṇa.

[2] *Rukattana*, *Alstonia scholaris*, Brown.

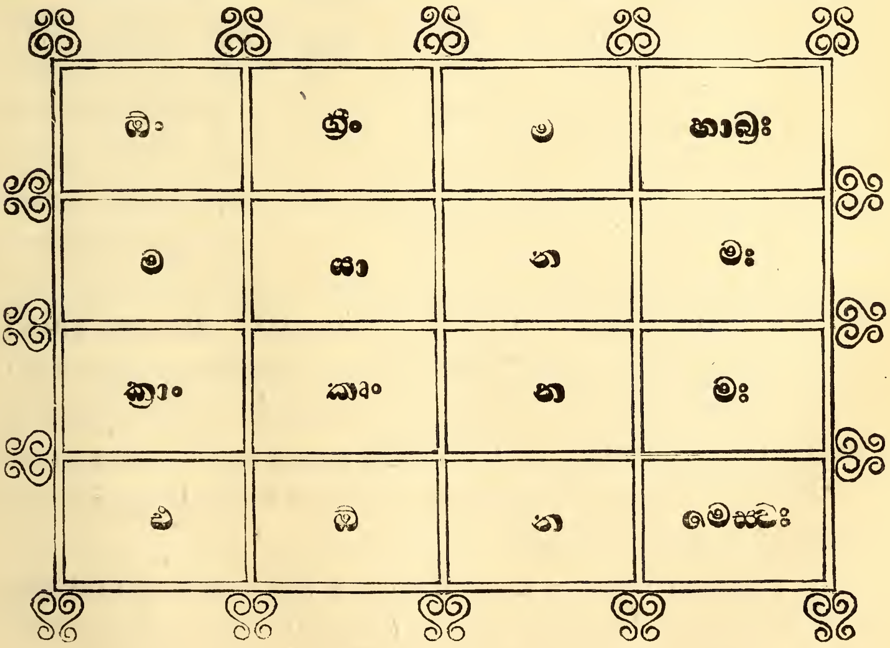
[3] *Balaṭṭa* = *baloṭuwa*, a prop ; *cf.* *galaoṭuwa* in verse 8 of the *kamathęlla.*

[4] *Kaduru*, *Tabernæmontana dichotoma*, Roxb. ; *daḷuk*, *Euphorbia antiquorum*, L. ; *del*, *Artocarpus nobilis*, Thw.

(garlic), *perunkáyan* (assafœtida), grind them together and put into a king cocoanut and take it to the field. Set up the *rukattana* stick; make with young cocoanut leaves five chains of five links each, and with them join the *rukattana* stick to five bamboo sticks set round about it. Then set the king cocoanut on the fork of the *rukattana* stick, and take three paddy plants from three sides and put the ears into the king cocoanut, and pour the five kinds of milk into it, and place seven *kaduru* leaves over it and tie *iluk*[1] leaves, and go away without speaking to a lonely place. Three days afterwards go to the field and untie the aforesaid ears and come away. Then the milk will enter (එවිට කිරි වදී). At the stile at the entrance to the field on either side of it fasten two young cocoanut-leaf chains of three links each. It is usual also to stick the king cocoanut on the fence.

This *kirikema* is the charm referred to in verse 5 of the *kamat-hélla*; it is something like one described by Mr. Bell (*Orientalist*, *loc. cit.*) as being used at the same time and for the same purpose in connection with the cultivation of *el-wi*.

(7) *Charm against wild animals.*—Write the following antra on an ola and put it at the fence where they come in:—

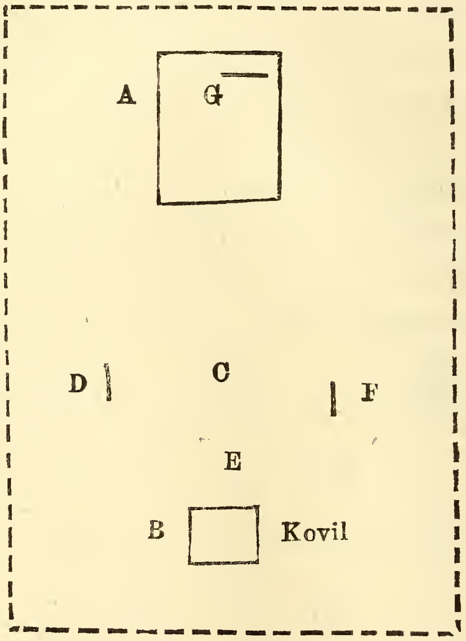


[1] *Iluk*, *Imperata arundinacea*, Cyr.

The last ceremony which I describe is of a different character, and less directly connected with cultivation. It is of special interest on account of the fire-walking, which, I believe, has never been previously recorded as Siṉhalese.

Giṇimaḍuwa, or fire-walking (ගිනිපාගනවා).

I witnessed the performance of this at Niriẹlla in March of this year. It is performed at irregular intervals (four or five years) with the general object of ensuring health and prosperity for the village and abundant crops. The expenses are borne by general subscription. A large rectangular area is railed in with young cocoanut-leaf fencing on a dry field. Inside this two temporary houses are erected, and three separate unroofed altars called *toran;* the larger



building (A) covers a fourth *torana* (G), that of Pattini deviyó; the others are dedicated to Kataragam deviyó (D), Dewol deviyó (E), and Wáhala deviyó (F). These altars are beautifully decorated with cut-out patterns in young cocoanut leaf laid on a back ground of හබරල *habarala* (*Alocasia macrorhiza,* Schott) leaf.

The proceedings are in charge of a *kapurála*, who brings the *ábaraṇa* of Pattini deviyó with him from the *déwálé.* Before dark a number of *milla* (*Vitex altissima*) logs are brought in procession, ready for the fire.

The ritual begins at about eight. The *ábaraṇa* are kept in the smaller building (kóvil), which is an upstair building on a small scale. The *kapurála* is in the top storey, and the *ábaraṇa* are wound up in a great turban and arranged on his head. The largest of the three elephants available was brought alongside, and the *kapurála* with some difficulty climbed on to its back without upsetting the erection on his head. A procession of three elephants, tom-tom beaters, dancers, and boys with lighted candles then proceeded round the field outside the enclosure. On returning, the *kapurála* dismounted outside the larger building, and very slowly and solemnly conveyed the *ábaraṇa* (which was kept in round lac-painted boxes) to the Pattini *toraṇa* within. Each elephant was made to kneel towards the altar before being led away.

There were eight dancers, wearing coats and skirts with good *appliqué* decoration (two of the coats were embroidered with cobras), and also belts, turbans, and bell-covered leggings. The operation of dressing was very casually performed in public, and several were not ready until the ceremony had begun some time. The remainder of the night was occupied with songs and offerings (betel), &c., made to the *ábaraṇa*, and dances both under cover and outside. The fire dance with dummaḷa dust was very well done, an interesting and beautiful variation being seen when the men stooped opposite each other and threw fire over each other's heads. These fire dances on a dark night are really splendid. The men also repeatedly extinguished the burning torches in their mouths.

Towards morning a fire is lit and burns down to red hot glowing ashes, which are arranged in a circle about a yard in diameter; the ashes are about 6 in. thick in the middle and 1 in. at the edge. The heat is tested from time to time by laying a spray of areca flower on the ashes. Presently the chief *kapurála* present (in this case a man who had arrived unexpectedly, and not the officiating *kapurála*) jumps first on the red hot ashes two or three times, and finally all the dancers and the *kapurála* do so until they are extinguished.

The chief *kapurála* above-mentioned alone seemed as if he felt pain, but no oné seemed the worse after the performance was over; even the chief *kapurála* set off at once, carrying a heavy load and walked seven miles without inconvenience. Afterwards a *kalageḍiya* of water, its mouth tied over with a leaf, is inverted in the ashes, and after the *kapurála* has attended to the altars and packed up the *ábaraṇa* the ceremony is over at about 7 A.M.

So far as I am aware no treatment was given to the fire-walkers' feet beforehand; however, this could have been done, as I did not watch the proceedings right through. The dancers themselves state that they are protected by *mantrams*; it is, however, more or less generally supposed that some sort of "medicine" is used. Iron smelters in a similar way have a custom of jumping on the red hot iron when it is made; this was done before Mr. im Thurn a few years ago at Balangoḍa. I must say the fire-walking was not a very alarming performance, and it seemed to be possible that well hardened feet would not in any case suffer much by it. Several of the men started off immediately for a ceremony in another village. I regret that I am unable to give a more detailed and particular account of the whole performance, with the words of the songs.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Mr. J. D. Abegoonewardene, Court Mudaliyár at Ratnapura, for his invaluable help in Englishing the Siṇhalese. One other point I should like to say a word about, viz., that all of the eight Papers referred to above as dealing with the present subject have been written by foreigners, for whom such investigations must always be difficult and laborious. It is surprising that no Ceylonese has cared to take up these studies, and publish some account of the many interesting customs which are now dying out in the more civilized districts. The collection of agricultural, religious, and other songs, with the airs to which they are sung, is particularly needed; if their study is too long neglected, they will be sought in vain when interest in such matters is at last awakened, as is bound to happen sooner or later.

H E. the Governor: Mr. Coomáraswámy has mentioned several gentlemen who have written on the subject of the rice harvest and rice sowing. Has any ceremony ever been noticed at the sowing of any other crops such as the chena crops.

Mr. E. W. Perera said: I would invite attention to a reference which Mr. Coomáraswámy has overlooked. The late Mr. H. Nevill's account of agricultural ceremonies in the *Taprobanian* (vol. I., p. 93, 1885), should be added to the list of authorities on paddy cultivation ceremonies.

In regard to the *ginimaduwa*, or fire-walking, I may remark that the rite is called *gammaduwa* in the low-country and *Kohombá Deviyó netima* (dance of the *kohomba* tree gôd) in the Kandyan Provinces. The ceremony is performed for abundant rains and generally before sowing. A detailed account of the *gammaduwa* appears in the "Ceylon Magazine" (1841, vol. I., p. 256).

The trampling of the fire and the inverting of the *kalagediya* or pitcher of water on the ashes are meant to be rain charms. The tutelary spirits of cultivation are connected with the "health spirits" of the Sinhalese, who are invoked in groups of seven in all "home observances" as the *kiri ammavaru*, or "milk mothers." The chief of these is the Maha Kiri Amma (Chief Milk Mother)—the goddess Pattini. The *kohomba* tree (*Azadirachta indica*) is sacred to them, and the tutelary deities of cultivation are commonly known as the *kohomba devas*. In this connection the repetition of the mystic number seven in the threshing-floor song might be noted.

The iron smelters of Sabaragamuwa, holding balls of almost liquid iron, walk on the fire. This they do (according to an interesting note in the Administration Report of Sabaragamuwa for 1873) by rubbing on their palms and soles "a paste of equal quantity of the *murunga* root, leaves of the *bevila* and *kapukannasa* plant, and the tender shoots of the *gurulla* finely ground with lime juice."

Mr. W. A. de Silva, referring to the inquiry as to whether ceremonies of a similar nature were observed in regard to other cultivations, mentioned that there were a large number of charms and *kémas* used among villagers in connection with chena crops and other cultivations; also charms and ceremonies performed to keep away wild animals, to prevent and check insect pests, or get rid of plant diseases, and sometimes with the object of securing increased crops. In the Paper just read there were a few translator's mistakes, which would no doubt be corrected when the Paper was published. For instance, in verse 19 Sinh. *hunare* is translated "hock" for "dew claws" in the first charm *wara* as is translated "jak." *Wara* is the Sinhalese name of the well-known plant mudar (*Calatropis gigantea*). *Geta-demata* (Sinhalese) is *Gmelina Asiatica*.

The fire-walking mentioned in the Paper was of interest. It is practised almost every day by those engaged in *kapu* ceremonies. No medicine whatever is used, and no preparations are made by the dancers before the ceremony. The stepping, usually done to the accompaniment of a lively tune on the tom-tom, is rapid enough to prevent the heat causing any injury to the feet; and after a few tramplings the heat is greatly diminished.

H. E. the Governor thanked Messrs. de Silva and Perera for their very interesting remarks.

Mr. FERGUSON : Are there any ceremonies in regard to cocoanut cultivation?

Mr. DE SILVA : Yes ; a large number of charms.

Mr. FERGUSON : In the case of cocoanuts, is it at the time of planting?

Mr. DE SILVA : No ; when any pest attacks the palms.

H. E. the GOVERNOR : I hope that Mr. de Silva will give us the benefit of his knowledge by reading a Paper on the subject. It should be singularly interesting. These are customs which day by day may be dying out, and it is very interesting to have them fully recorded.

Mr. DE SILVA promised a Paper.

Mr. FERGUSON referred to a Paper by Mr. Allardyce on Fire-walking in Fiji, to which he had listened at the Royal Colonial Institute. There the circular hole, or oven, for the fire was 3 feet deep and 25 feet across, and stones from 6 to 24 inches wide were heated for twelve hours by great logs kept burning. A thermometer suspended over the stones registered 282° Fahr., and then the solder melted. Mr. Allardyce examined the men's feet and could discover nothing unusual, not even that any hair was singed. But the fire-walkers in Fiji were accustomed to a sandy beach with a substratum of black coral which, when exposed, became terribly hot, and the people accustomed to walk on it got a thick coating on the soles of their feet.

H. E. the GOVERNOR : I think there was a ceremony of the kind at Slave Island in Colombo recently. It is a singular fact that walking over fire is so widely practised. I have read of it in Morocco and in Fiji. I can quite understand such cases as those mentioned by Mr. Allardyce, that the extreme thickness on the soles induced on people who never wore shoes might have prevented the burning through the cuticle; but I have read of this ceremony being performed where the flesh was burned because it could be smelled.

Mr. W. F. GUṆAWARDHANA commented at length on some of the philological notes to Mr. Coomáraswámy's Paper.

Referring to the mystic diagram, he thought that the contents admitted of interpretation.*

He thought the Paper very instructive. Mr. Coomáraswámy sounded the right note when he said he thought the time had come for educated natives to take a patriotic interest in regard to the life of their countryside. It was there the national life of the people in all the charm of its native simplicity sill survived, but it was daily giving way to a more vigorous civilization, and unless the opportunity be taken while it was not yet too late, the time would soon come when all traces of that beautiful, simple life have passed away. It was for the natives of the Island to take some trouble to preserve for coming generations these beautiful memorials of the national life of their ancestors.

Mr. BAṬUWANTUDÁWE disagreed with Mr. Guṇawardhana with regard to the meaning of certain words in the charm.

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* Mr. Gunawardhana suggested certain variant renderings.—*Ed. Sec.*

Votes of Thanks.

H. E. the Governor : It only remains for me now to propose a vote of thanks to the three gentlemen who have so kindly written Papers for this evening's Meeting, which will no doubt be carried *nem. con.* Thanks too are due to the gentlemen who have contributed interesting discussion on the Papers. I look forward with great interest to a further Paper on the various charms gone through at different periods of cultivation.

The Hon. Mr. Ferguson : " Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is my duty and pleasure to propose to you what I am sure you will cordially accept and support—a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor for presiding this evening. I know it will be in consonance with His Excellency's feelings that the fewest words should be used. But I know that the Members and Office-bearers of the Society all sincerely thank Their Excellencies for coming here, and that too at a time when we have not anything specially interesting to present to them.

"I am sure that from the Ceylonese Members a very earnest vote of thanks is due to His Excellency for the deep interest he takes in the history of the country and the customs of the people."

The Meeting then terminated.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, September 4, 1905.

Present:

The Hon. Mr. S. C. Obeyesekere in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. | Dr. W. H. de Silva, F.R.C.S

Dr. A. Willey, D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on May 2, 1905.

2. Resolved,—That the following candidates for Membership be elected :—

A. W. Wijesiṇhạ: recommended by	E. R. Goonaratna. P. E. Pieris.
H. Storey: recommended by	H. C. P. Bell. G. A. Joseph.
R. S. Churchill: recommended by	H. C. P. Bell. G. A. Joseph.
J. C. Hall: recommended by	J. Harward. G. A. Joseph.
A. B. W. Jayasékera : recommended by	S. C. Obeyesekere W. P. Raṇasiṇha.
Don Simon B. H. K. Jayawardana : recommended by	J. Attygalle, M.D. G. A. Joseph.
Pandit D. M. S. Srí Wijaya Kavirája : recommended by	J. W. C. de Soysa. W. F. Guṇawardhana.

3. Read letters from Mr. A. K. Coomaraswámy, dated May 12 and 18, 1905, offering a prize of Rs. 50 for the best essay on Kandyan Customs, &c.

Resolved,—That Mr. Coomáraswámy's offer be accepted with thanks and that Messrs. S. M. Burrows, A. K. Coomáraswámy, and the Hon Mr. Hulugalle be appointed a Sub-Committee to select the subjects.

4. Read letter No. 327 of May 6, 1905, from Mr. H. C. P. Bell Archæological Commissioner, regarding Mr. C. M. Fernando's Paper on two old Siṇhalese Swords.

Resolved,—To ascertain from Mr. Bell, Editing Secretary, the grounds for not publishing that portion of the Paper which relates to the olas.

5. Laid on the table a Paper entitled " Notes on some Roman Coins found in Ceylon, " by Mr. J. Still, Assistant to the Archæological Comssioner.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Messrs. P. E. Pieris and C. M. Fernando.

6. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. R. G. Anthonisz forwarding a photograph of an old Dutch medal, and inquiring if the Society would care to publish it in the Journal.

Resolved,—That Mr. Anthonisz be thanked for his offer, and asked to give a translation of the medal and particulars in a Note, or short Paper, to be published with the illustration.

7. Laid on the table letters from the Director, Colombo Museum, dated August 31, 1905, regarding the W. S. Geological Survey publications housed in the Director's private office.

Resolved,—At the request of Dr. Willey (Director, Colombo Museum) to let the matter stand over for future consideration.

8. Read letter from Mr. H. F. Tomalin, dated September 4, 1905, resigning his seat on the Council owing to his transfer to Kandy as Provincial Engineer.

COUNCIL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, November 14, 1905.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., in the Chair.

Mr. P. Freüdenberg, Vice-President.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz. | Mr. A. M. Guṇasékara, Muḍaliyár.

Mr. C. Drieberg, B.A., F.H.A.S.

Mr. J. Harward, M.A., and Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretaries.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of Council Meeting held on September 4, 1905.

2. Considered and passed the election of Mr. W. Stephen de Silva, Editor, *Sihala Samaya :* Recommended by (*a*) S. B. Kuruppu; (*b*) G. A. Joseph.

3. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. H. C. P. Bell, dated 22nd September last, regarding Mr. C. M. Fernando's Paper entitled " Two Ancient Siṇhalese Swords."

Resolved,—That Mr. C. M. Fernando be informed that as the ola has not been forwarded to Mr. Bell it necessarily follows that the course taken by him would be adopted.

4. Laid on the table a Paper entitled " A Copper Sannasa granted to King Kirti Ṣrí Rájasiṇha in Ṣaka 1685, " by Mr. T. B. Pohath-Kehelpannala.

Resolved,—That the Paper be referred to Mr. Harward and Mudaliyár A. M. Guṇasékara, and that if their opinions be favourable, Mr. Pohath be asked to send the *sannasa* for the Council's inspection.

5. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. J. Still asking to be allowed to withdraw his Paper on " Roman Coins found in Ceylon " already sent to the Society, with a view to its amplification

Resolved,—That Mr. Still be allowed to withdraw his Paper on the understanding that the complete Paper be presented to the Society.

6. Laid on the table a letter from Mr. D. W. Ferguson offering to write a Paper for the Society entitled " First Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese."

Resolved,—That Mr. D. W. Ferguson's offer be accepted with thanks, and that the Society do publish as many illustrations as possible.

7. The President reported that the Honorary Treasurer found great difficulty in getting in subscriptions, and would be obliged to enforce the rules and delete the names of certain gentlemen from the list of Members.

Resolved,—To ask the Honorary Treasurer to lay on the table a list of the defaulters he proposes deleting.

GENERAL MEETING.

Colombo Museum, December 13, 1905.

Present :

The Hon. Mr. J. Ferguson, C.M.G., President, in the Chair.

Mr. R. G. Anthonisz.
Mr. T P. Attygalle, J. P.
Mr. M. K. Bamber, F.C.S.
Mr. C. Baṭuwantuḍáwa. Advocate.
Mr. A. K. Coomáraswámy, B.Sc.
Mr. E. B. Denham, B.A., C.C.S.
Mr. E. Evans.
C. M Fernando, M.A., LL.M.
The Hon. Mr. G. M. Fowler, C.M.G.
Dr. C. A. Héwáwitáraṇa.
Mr. S. B. Kuruppu.
Mr. F. Lewis, F.L.S.
Mr. P. E. Morgappah.
Mr. Chas. Perera, Proctor, S.C.
Dr. W. H. Van Dort, M.D.
Dr. A. Willey, M.A., D.Sc., F.R.S.

Mr. G. A. Joseph, Honorary Secretary.

Visitors :

Sir Alexander and Lady Ashmore, the Bishop of Colombo, Sir Allan Perry, Mrs. J. van Langenberg, Mrs. E. Evans, Mr. C. A. Cave, the Rev. R. J. M. Park, Mrs. R. H. Ferguson, Mrs. P D. Warren, Miss Brown, Mrs. C. Drieberg, Miss Van Dort, Miss Grace Van Dort, Prof. Browning, Messrs. H. G. Bois, W. B. Hunter, Mr. and Mrs. A. O'dell Figg, Mr. I. Etherington, Rev. G. B. Ekanáyaka, Mr. A. Drieberg, Rev. J. C. Ford, Messrs. R. A. Brohier, W. P. de Zilva, Simon Héwáwitáraṇa, Sam. W. Soysa, M C. Perera, and about twenty others.

Business.

1. Read and confirmed Minutes of last General Meeting held on July 17 last.

2. Announced the election of the following Members since the last General Meeting :—

R. S. Churchill.
J. C. Hall.
A. B. W. Jayasékera.
D. S. W. Kuruppu.
Pandit D. M. Silva Ṣrí Wijaya Kavirája.
W. Stephen de Silva.
H. Storey.
A. W. Wijésiṇ̥ha.

3. Mr. A. K. Coomáraswámy exhibited some designs for royal Kandyan jewellery made in the time of Kings Kírti Ṣrí Rájasiṇ̥ha and Ṣrí Wikramarájasiṇ̥ha, which he had obtained from a blacksmith in the Four Kóraḷés.

4. Mr. W. Saville-Kent, F.L.S., F.Z.S., F.J. Inst., Past President, Royal Society of Queensland, delivered the following lecture with lantern illustrations :—

THE PHOTOGRAPHY OF COLOUR AS APPLIED TO OBTAINING CORRECT COLOUR RECORDS OF NATURAL HISTORY SUBJECTS.

By W. SAVILLE-KENT, F.L.S., &c.

THE subject that I have the honour of bringing before you this evening is that of reproducing in connection with photographic processes the natural colours as well as the external form of the objects photographed, and this with reference more especially to their utility for obtaining correct colour records of Natural History subjects.

Before proceeding to the exhibition of the examples I have at disposal for the illustration of this subject, it has occurred to me that a brief account might be acceptable of the sundry steps and methods that have been successively employed in the development of colour photography to its present advanced state.

Although it is only within recent years that anything approaching satisfactory results have been accomplished in this connection, it is an interesting fact that quite fifty years have elapsed since the possibilities of what is popularly known as colour photography were definitely demonstrated. At that relatively early date, however, no photographic plates were manufactured that were sufficiently sensitive to, or specially adapted for, the registration of those colour rays that enter essentially into the composition of the natural colour picture, and it is only by slow and tedious steps that all these difficulties have been finally overcome.

At the present day there are, as a matter of fact, several more or less distinct processes by which photographic images of objects in their natural colours can be recorded. The majority of these processes are associated with what

is known as the three-colour or trichromatic principle, and which, as its name implies, involves the essentiality of three distinct or specially selected colours being comprehended in the composition of the natural colour pictures obtained. This was in fact the system originally discovered by Prof. Clerk Maxwell of Cambridge University so long since as the year 1857, and who, by throwing in correctly adjusted combination three distinctly coloured photographic images on a lantern screen, produced more or less perfect replicas of brilliantly coloured ribbons and other objects.

In its most recent, though probably far from fully perfected, stage of development it has been found and is becoming generally recognized that there are no colours in either Nature or Art that cannot be faithfully reproduced in combination with the three-colour or trichromatic photographic system. It has been maintained as an explanation of this very interesting and well-established fact that all colour images are formed on the human retina through the medium of three distinct colour-recording nerves, so that in the building up of the natural colour photographic image we are simply reproducing the conditions that obtain in association with normal human colour vision.

In connection with the development and perfecting of this three-colour photographic system several notably interesting and more or less important modifications of its adaptation and application have been devised. In one of the earlier of these, with which the name of Mr. Frederick Ives of Philadelphia is more particularly associated, the images of the three positives obtained are in their monochrome form concentrated by means of three distinctly coloured mirrors into a single focus within a portable instrument upon which its inventor conferred the title of the "Kromskop." Subjects photographed and viewed through this instrument, more particularly in its stereoscopic form, present a realistic facsimile of the subject photographed that is with difficulty obtained by any other known method.

The one drawback to this Kromskop replica is that it is an intangible image, one that can be seen only with the aid of a delicately adjusted and expensive instrument, and that cannot be handled and dealt with after the manner of an ordinary lantern or stereoscopic slide.

By a modification of the Kromskop principle Mr. Ives also produced a device by which, with three separate lanterns and coloured screens, he could throw similarly concentrated natural colour images on a lantern sheet. This particular device was, however, as a matter of fact, an adaptation only of Prof. Clerk Maxwell's original idea. In addition to being the inventor of the "Kromskop" it should be mentioned that Mr. Ives also devised the construction of natural colour photographic transparencies in which their stained carbon films were superimposed upon one another, and which in fact represents the fundamental principle upon which the examples submitted to you this evening are constructed.

Another distinct and exceedingly ingenious application of the three-colour photographic system is associated with the name of Prof. Joly of Dublin. In this modification of the constructive principle the three essential primary tints are ruled in parallel lines of microscopic dimensions and interspace on a viewing screen. One of these coloured viewing screens has to be laid upon and carefully adjusted to a single positive that has been printed from a negative that was taken through an analogous but complimentary coloured ruled screen. We have consequently here the advantage of the negative and the positive only being required for the composition of the natural colour picture. Very pleasing effects may be obtained in conjunction with this "Joly" trichromatic method, but at the same time the undesirable prominence with which the lines of the ruled screens become visible when the subject is enlarged in the stereoscope or thrown on the lantern sheet militates much against its practical adaptation for the technically accurate portraiture of Natural History subjects.

The name of M. Lumiére of Paris and Lyons is also a conspicuously familiar one in conjunction with colour photography. More recently the methods utilized by M. Lumiére have closely coincided with those of the perfected Ivé's carbon system, but was formerly more especially connected with a process by which three stained collodion films were successively superimposed upon one another in accurate optical contact.

A remaining colour photographic method that especially demands notice is that distinguished as the Lipmann process. This process as a matter of fact represents the only one by which natural colour photographic images have been taken directly on an exposed plate. In order to accomplish this a bath of mercury is temporarily placed in contact with the emulsion surface of the exposed specially prepared photographic plate and upon which surface the refracted rays of light are registered with a greater or less degree of colour accuracy. This, from a scientific standpoint, most interesting method of colour photography is as yet, however, only in its initial phase of development.

The failures are multiple and the successes few that have been achieved in its practical application. It would seem at the same time to possess latent possibilities that may lead to very important future developments.

I will propose now to enter a little more fully into the details of that process by which the majority of the examples to be brought before you this evening were constructed, and which is a development of the Ive's system most generally known as the "Sanger Shepherd" process. Any ordinary camera adapted to time exposures and to which the requisite three-colour screens can be fitted can be utilized for this interesting branch of photography; and as all the particular descriptions of screens, plates, and other materials used are now made the specialité of a leading London photographic manufacturing firm, Messrs. Sanger Shepherd & Co., it may be anticipated that colour photography as exemplified by this particular trichromatic process will be taken up very extensively.

The most essential feature in the practical application of this three-colour photographic process is necessarily the acquirement of the three images possessing the particular colour values required for the composition of the perfect picture. These three colours may be selected from slightly varying areas of the solar spectrum, but the most accurate results have been obtained when shades of Prussian blue, majenta pink, and bright yellow have been used as the component colour factors. These three accurately tinted colour positives having been obtained, it is only necessary to superimpose them, sandwich fashion, in perfect registration to produce the finished natural colour picture. As compared with the Lipmann system recently referred to, the natural colour pictures built up by this trichromatic method are necessarily the result of an indirect process. That is to say, the coloured pictures produced are not taken directly in the camera, but in the form of monochrome or black and white negatives which yield complimentary monochrome positives which possess the requisite light and shade or intensity values of the three enumerated tints. These tints have to be imparted to the positives by dipping them into suitable dyes of the three respective colours, blue, pink, and brilliant yellow.

In order to obtain the three positives possessing these respective colour values for the composition of the complete synthesis it is necessary to employ special colour screens when taking the negatives that respectively absorb all the supplementary rays of the solar spectrum and only permit those three required for the composition of the resulting positives to pass through. Thus, when obtaining the negative for printing the Prussian blue positive a spectrotopically adjusted screen has to be employed that absorbs every other colour of the spectrum excepting this particular blue tint. This screen has consequently to be of a ruby red hue. In like manner for the negative which only allows the majenta pink colour value to be represented, a green screen absorbing all the blue and yellow rays is

employed. Finally, for obtaining the brilliant yellow colour value positive a blue violet colour screen is used. In their practical application these several colour screens can be adapted to fit on in front of the camera lens or to be interposed at the back immediately in front of the exposed plate.

The taking of negatives through these variously coloured screens necessarily involves considerably longer exposures than obtains in ordinary monochrome photography. This is more especially noteworthy of the one obtained through the red screen for which an exposure is given approximating four or five times the time duration associated with the green screen and ten or twelve times that required when exposing through the blue violet screen. Thus when taking negatives of ordinary subjects in full tropical sunlight such as that of Ceylon, as I have been doing lately, I have found that with the lens well stopped down to F. 96 an exposure of two and a half minutes with the red screen, forty-five seconds with the green, and fifteen seconds with the blue screen represent the most satisfactory time ratios. These time ratios are however subject to slight modifications with respect to every new batch of plates used, and for which it is desirable to make one or more tentative exposures. A sure method of arriving at the correct time ratio of any given batch of plates is by including a pure white object in the photographic field, and which should develop with equal density on each of the three plates exposed.

Subjects photographed in the shade and more especially in a dull or murky atmosphere such as prevails during an English winter require a considerably longer exposure than the periods just enumerated. Exposures of five minutes, one and a half minute, and thirty seconds, respectively, represent the ordinary duration of the time exposures employed for the majority of the examples exhibited on this occasion. In some instances, however, such as that of the portrait in half-plate size, no less than fifteen minutes were occupied in the exposure under the red screen, five minutes with the green

screen, and one and a half minute with the blue one, or a time total of over twenty-one minutes. With the rapid progress that is continually being made in the improvement of both plates and lenses with regard more especially to their speed properties, it is likely that the time exposures hitherto required when working with coloured screens will be very materially curtailed, and that natural colour subjects will be achievable with the camera with a facility and expedition little short of that which already exists with respect to ordinary monochrome photographs.

As a matter of fact when open land or seascapes are concerned, allowing the employment of a large diaphragm aperture with the lens, exposures of a few seconds only have been found sufficient with the red or densest tinted screen. A camera, moreover, has been constructed with three lenses and the diaphragms and screens so adjusted that all three of the exposures can be made simultaneously and what are practically instantaneous photographs representing all of the required colour elements secured by a single exposure. So soon as this more rapid process is extended and applied to such subjects as ordinary portraiture and which, there is every reason to believe, will soon be realized, it may be anticipated that an almost complete revolution of the existing methods of photographic portraiture will be effected. Fair sitters more especially will undoubtedly consider that they have a distinct grievance if not supplied with photographs in which every subtle shade of their marvellous "creations" (I believe this is the right word for their head adornments) as well as those of their fair features are faithfully reproduced.

The description of plates used for taking these three-colour process negatives—Cadett's lightning spectrum plates—are necessarily extremely sensitive to light, and have to be developed in almost complete darkness or with a safety light screen placed in front of the usual ruby light. The printing and development of the final positive transparencies may be accomplished altogether on the lines of ordinary carbon printing

or in combination with a modification of the customary lantern slide formula. In the former instance the prints from the three negatives are made on three bichromated films, washed out in hot water, and then dipped into their respective dyes. It is found most convenient, however, to use glass as the main supporting basis, and as the requisite possession blue tint can be most effectually obtained by the chemical conversion of an ordinary monochrome lantern slide from black to blue by what is known as the ferro-prussiate process, this chemical method may be most advantageously adopted for the production of this print.

Some small amount of personal judgment and tentative experiment is necessarily required in order to arrive at the precise shade of the several tints of the three colours employed, but as soon as a correct standard has been obtained the multiplication of duplicates becomes a mere matter of mechanical detail. In order to impart to the completed picture the maximum of transparency the three positives may be varnished and amalgamated with Canada balsam into one optically homogeneous whole.

In addition to the composition of lantern slides, larger transparencies can be readily constructed on this three-colour photographic system by either the direct method or by the ordinary enlarging process. It is also possible from the original three negatives to construct process blocks from which pictures in their natural colours can be printed on paper. The chief difficulty encountered in this direction is the acquisition of sufficiently pure coloured and yet transparent printing inks, but this difficulty has been surmounted to such an extent that many English and European printing firms are now substituting this three-colour printing method for the much more complicated and expensive one of chromo-lithography, in which as many as eighteen or twenty or more lithographic stones are required for producing less correct effects than are obtainable with three photo-process works.

By far the most remarkable results are, however, undoubtedly obtained by this three-colour or trichromatic process when applied to the production of well constructed stereoscopic transparencies. In such transparencies depth of focus being added to the natural form and colours, it is difficult to realize when viewing them through the stereoscopic instrument that one is not looking at the actual objects photographed.

Larger sized three-colour transparencies are admirably adapted for fulfilling all those decorative purposes, such as window transparencies, lamp shades, fire screens, and other artistic uses for which hitherto stained glass has been the only available material.

Another direction to which this natural colour photographic process has already been applied with very considerable success is the reproduction of the paintings of old masters and other works of art. The firm of Sanger Shepherd & Co., already referred to as supplying all the necessary materials for this three-colour work, possesses a very fine series of replicas of the gem pictures. Such as those of Bentens, Turner and Landseer, and others contained in the London National Gallery, every shade of their mellowed tints being most faithfully reproduced within the dimensions of a small lantern slide.

The walls of this noted Museum wherein we are now assembled are especially suggestive of three-colour possibilities. They are profusely decorated with admirably copied replicas of the frescoes and other wall paintings of the ancient cities of Ceylon. The time and labour involved in the production of these replicas has been enormous, and is beyond praise; but an immense saving of this time and labour could have been accomplished with the assistance of the camera and colour screens.

It has been suggested that this new development of colour photography may detrimentally affect the interests of the professional artist. It on the contrary places additional advantages at his disposal. Photography and Art stand in

the same relationship to one another as Prose and Poetry The artist in his pictures eliminates all that is incongruous or commonplace and accentuates all that is refined and artistic in the scenes or subjects depicted. The camera, even though fortified with colour screens, can never do that. It is at the same time his most efficient handmaid, and can be utilized by him in countless directions. Taking by way of example the gorgeous sunrises and sunsets of the tropics or even of temperate regions, within a brief five minutes, before our artist has had even time to delineate their outline, their glory has departed, or became absolutely metamorphosed. With his colour camera he can obtain a faithful record of the glowing scene and reproduce it on canvas in his studio at his own leisure. Examples akin to this might be multiplied indefinitely.

The chief impetus or interest that has stimulated my own zeal in the endeavour to further develop and perfect this process of trichromatic photography has been a recognition of the valuable assistance it offers for obtaining technically correct colour records of the marvellously tinted corals, fishes, and innumerable other brilliant coloured denizens of the tropic seas. Hitherto to illustrate many of the interesting forms encountered in my wanderings I have laboriously attempted to portray them with brush and pencil. Such attempts, however, invariably fall short of the perfection aimed at. Like the elusive sunsets the creatures colours frequently change with the same kaleidoscopic rapidity, and the best one possibly produces is, as compared with Nature, a highly coloured daub that friends at home will probably suggest is the fantastic creation of a disordered brain.

But now with our colour-recording camera *nons avous changé tout cela*—it is possible to produce faithful portraits of Nature's most brilliant organisms against which the most carping untravelled critics will take up their parables in vain. It is my regret that I am not in a position at the present time to submit for your inspection coloured replicas of the innumerable gorgeously coloured fish and other objects

of which I have had the good fortune to secure excellent negatives, principally in the South Sea Islands, within the past two years. Such leisure as I have had at my disposal has been occupied in obtaining as many as possible of these negatives, and it is not until I arrive in England that I shall have an opportunity of obtaining from them natural colour prints. Should the subject, however, prove of sufficient interest to this Society, I shall have much pleasure in the event of my probable stay for a longer period in Ceylon, a year or so hence, to submit to them a fuller illustration of what three-colour photography can accomplish in connection with the natural history denizens of Ceylonese and other tropic waters.

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5. The CHAIRMAN, in proposing a special vote of thanks to the lecturer for the great treat he had afforded them, alluded to the prospect of Professor Saville-Kent's return and another lecture. The new process, illustrated that evening, would inevitably do much to make the beauties of Ceylon known all over the civilized world. The Chairman also thanked Sir Allan Perry for aid afforded in arranging for the lecture.

The vote to the lecturer was carried by acclamation,

6. PROFESSOR SAVILLE-KENT briefly acknowledged the vote of thanks, saying he hoped to give another demonstration and lecture when passing through perhaps a year or two hence.

7. Mr. C. M. FERNANDO in proposing a vote to the Chairman, alluded to the fact that Professor Saville-Kent's name had been made familiar to them some years ago during the course of a discussion on a Paper on Pearl Oysters, when the Chairman spoke of the work done in this direction, on the Australian coast, by the lecturer of that evening.

Mr. COOMARASWAMY briefly seconded, and, after acknowledgment, the proceedings closed.

APPENDIX.

Two Old Siṇhalese Swords.

(Note by H. C. P. Bell, Archæological Commissioner.)

The two swords, the subject of Mr. C. M. Fernando's Paper,* were seen by me casually some twenty years ago. They have been closely inspected, for the first time† this year (1906), at the request of the Council of the Ceylon Asiatic Society (Council Meeting, May 2, 1906, Resolution 10‡).

(2) When received for examination from the Colombo Museum the main writing§ on both swords was coated with white paint.

After removing this veneer the inscriptions were examined, letter by letter, under a magnifying glass.

For further aid, a Siṇhalese draughtsman made careful tracings of the records, and enlarged them to double their actual size.

(3) The writing on both the swords is considerably worn—in places hopelessly.

In regard to calligraphy the characters are roughly formed, and wanting in the finish of *sannas* engraved on copper plates. The letters may have been partially burnt in with some strong acid, through a "stencil" facing of wax or other material, before being touched with a graving tool.

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* See *ante*, pp. 388–391.

† As well as a third inscribed sword (hiltless) referred to in the pamphlet "The Kará-Goi Contest" (G. A. Dharmaratna, Advocate), 1890, p. 58. The year of the record on this sword is illegible, as well as the name save *warigé nam* of the grantee, "*Kouravera Aditt*[*ya*] *Arasa Nilayiṭṭa.*" The name of a King "*Para*[*krama*] *Bahu Maha raja*" occurs and the month and day (Vesak, 15th, full moon, Tuesday).

‡ See *ante*, p. 392.

§ There are faint traces of larger writing, very worn, on both sides of Sword No. 2. This supports the supposition of the later inscribing of the present records in accordance with a tradition connected with the swords and the original writing on them. On the doubly-lettered face, above the first line of the more modern record, the words "*Jayawardha* [*napu*]*ra Sri* [*Sa*]*ng Bôdhi Sri* [*Pa*]*ra*[*krama*] *Bâ*[*hu*]" are legible in older script.

(4) As to the age of the inscriptions, they can be styled "archaic" in a modified sense only; inasmuch as the form of characters is too modern for the periods to which their face records profess to relate.

SWORD NO. 1.*

(5) Owing to abrasion a good deal of the record on this sword is quite indecipherable, except to such guesswork as appears in much of the transcript given in the Paper.

Moreover, the inscription, even where legible, has been misread in important parts by the Mudaliyár.

A rendering of the text more nearly correct is offered† :—

1. (......කෞරවර විරා......) රයාදිකාර......දු නම විය රජ සෙනෙවි (......) ශ්‍රී බුඩ වෂී සහස් [එක්] සිය (විසිපස්) වැනි

2. වඩාල ශ්‍රී ලංකා(රජ)කල කුඩ (. බො) නරෙන්‍ද්‍රයන් විසින් යුවරජ සෙණෙවි ධූරය හා(...) රදු ලැබූ කෞරවර ආදි(ත්‍ය) කුරු(. අ) රෂ නිල

3. සිටව ඉලෙ නාගව ර(ජ) මුද්‍රා කග ලබා යෙදුනේ මෙ වස වෙශඟ පුර පසලොස් කුජ දින ජයවඩ්(න)පුර සෙනෙවි රජවාසල

4. දීය.

(6) In line 1 the words before රජ are clearly නම විය, not විජය as read by the Mudaliyár. Of the date only සහස් and සිය are clearly legible: but the word preceding සිය is almost certainly එක්, and that which follows apparently විසිපස්; they cannot be twisted into නව and සතලොස්. The date "A.B. 1917" must therefore be finally rejected. Line 2 commences with වඩාල; correctly වඩුල [පංක්ත නම්]. The sign after කග, line 3, is more like the *ira*, or *tita*, pause stop of Siṇhalese manuscripts, than ෴.‡

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* The Royal Sign Manual, a large ශ්‍රී, is incised on the left of the inscription between *Irahaňda kodi* (Sun and Moon flags), one of "the ten insignia of the Karâwe people" (see "The Kará-Goi Contest," p. 54). To right of the "Moon flag" is a Nâga, or cobra, ready to strike.

† *Brackets* are used for readings where letters are worn and partially illegible, but not really uncertain. Letters wholly illegible, which cannot be supplied, are represented by *points*, one for each syllable.

‡ As a matter of fact the version of this inscription given, ***but without text***, in "The Kará-Goi Contest" (p. 58) is an approximately accurate translation of the record on the sword. The translation as there given runs:—"In the year of blessed Buddha 1143 the great King of Srie Lanka Kuda-akbo appointed Kaurawir Aditte Kuruwede Arsenillaitte Illenaga, second king, and presented a sword with the Royal Seal thereon in the said year, full moon, 15th, Tuesday, in the month Wesak at the Seneviraja Wasala in Jayawardena."

Reading the date on the sword as "A.B. 1125" (= A.D. 582), it tallies with the reign of Agbo, or Agra Bôdhi I. (A.D. 564–598). This at once stamps the inscription as not a contemporaneous record; since the writing is in a character many centuries later, and "***Jayawardhana pura***" (Koṭṭé) was not occupied ***as a capital*** until the 14th century.

Sword No. 2.

(7) The Mudaliyár's version of the inscription on this sword is nearly correct throughout.

1. ශ්‍රී බුඩ වෂීහස් නව සිය නව පනස් වැනි ශ්‍රී ලංකාදිපති ජය වඞීනපුර ශ්‍රී සඟබොදි ශ්‍රී පරක්‍රම බාහු මහ රජ විසින් කෞරවර අදිත්‍ය කුරුවීර අරස නිලසිට්ට මහා නාගට.

2. (රේ...ඟ) සෙනාපතිද්‍රරය සහ කඟ සනාතස් කොට හිමිකර දුනෙන් වෙශඟ පුර තියවක ලත් කුජ දින සිරිවඩන වාසලදීය.

(8) The unread word at the commencement of line 2 begins with රේ and ends with ඟ or භ. In the same line, despite the *ispilia*-like flourish above ක, the word කඟය is doubtless meant—the ය being inserted above the line. Instead of සකස් කොට and දසවක, as misread, the actual wording is සනාතස් කොට and තියවක.

(9) That the swords themselves, whether of Indian or foreign make, may well have been granted by royalty for special services no one free from unworthy bias need question. Such bestowal of swords and other weapons on favoured persons by Ceylon rulers was not unknown.*

(10) The inscriptions could in all good faith have been placed at a later date on the swords as family heirlooms, by descendants, in virtue of a generally admitted tradition of their having been gifted to distinguished ancestors of the possessors.

* See Lawrie's Gazetteer, vol. II., pp. 677, 684, 761, 808.

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